AMYNTOR:

OR, A

DEFENCE

OF

Milton's Life.

CONTAINING

I. A general Apology for all Writings of that kind.

II. A Catalogue of Books attributed in the Primitive Times to JESUS CHRIST, his Apoſtles and other eminent Perſons: With ſeveral important Remarks and Obſervations relating to the Canon of Scripture.

III. A Complete Hiſtory of the Book, Entitul'd, *Icon Baſilike*, proving Dr. GAUDEN, and not King CHARLES the Firſt, to be the Author of it: With an Anſwer to all the Facts alledg'd by Mr. WAGSTAF to the contrary; and to the Exceptions made againſt my Lord ANGLESEY's *Memorandum*, Dr. WALKER's Book, or Mrs. GAUDEN's Narrative, which laſt Piece is now the firſt Time publiſh'd at large.

DI quibus imperium eſt animarum, umbræque Silentes,
Et Chaos, & Phlegethon, Loca Nocte tacentia late,
Sit mihi fas audita loqui; Sit numine veſtro,
Pandere res alta terra & caligine merſas. Virg. Æn. 6.

London, Printed, and are to be Sold by the Booksellers of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. M. DC. XC. IX.

		Errors.	Amendments.
Page 5.	line 16.	*hose*	*those*
20.	5.	*Christ his*	*Christ, his*
21.	4.	*Ceretum*	*Ceretium*
37.	19.	*Copotic*	*Coptic*
48.	3.	*of*	*of the*
53.	15.	*Matthies*	*Matthias*
57.	15.	*Ex mple*	*example*
65.	15.	*may be*	*be any*
66.	17.	*Iittgius*	*ittigius*
104.	23.	*hop'd o*	*hop'd to*
105.	5.	*Consciences*	*Conscience*
113.	20.	*somtime*	*Som time*
131.	16.	*this*	*his*
137.	8.	*Mediations*	*Meditations*

* In the Margin of Pag. 57, after *Eusebius*, read *lib.* 3. and instead of *first* read *fifth*.

THE AUTHOR TO A FRIEND.

THE Public is ſo ſeldom intereſted in the Debates of privat Men, and I am ſo little concern'd at the Malice or Miſtakes of my Adverſaries, that, without ſom better Motive, I would never preſume to trouble the World with any thing merely perſonal. But if the Subject in queſtion be of extraordinary Weight and Conſequence, and that on the certain Deciſion of it ſhould depend the Tranquillity of a conſiderable number of People, then I think a Man is indiſpenſably oblig'd to appear for the Truth; and ſo, while he's endeavoring to ſerve others, no body will ſay he ought to neglect his own Defence.

Defence. Whether the Treatiſe I now ſend you be of this Nature, is ſubmitted to your equal Judgment: And unleſs I really deſign'd a Nobler End by it than the Juſtification of one Perſon, neither you nor any body elſe ſhould loſe your time in reading, no more than I my ſelf would be at the Pains of writing it, which yet I'll count the higheſt Pleaſure if I underſtand it has never ſo little contributed to the Satisfaction of a Gentleman of ſuch undiſputed Learning and Merit.

March 30. 1699.

J. T.

AMYN-

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OR, A

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OF

Milton's Life.

WHEN I undertook to write the Life of the moſt celebrated MILTON, I was far from imagining that I ſhould ever (much leſs ſo ſoon) be oblig'd to make an Apology in juſtification of ſuch a Work, both harmleſs in it ſelf, and greatly deſir'd by the World. There was no poſitive Law or Cuſtom againſt publiſhing the particular Hiſtory of this extraordinary Perſon, con-

ſider'd in any reſpect whatſoever: for the Lives of Good Princes and Tyrants, of Orthodox and Heretical Divines, of Virtuous and Wicked, of Public and Privat Men, are indifferently perus'd by every body; of which it would be ſuperfluous to alledg Examples, the thing being ſo commonly known by all that have learnt to read. Nor without ſuch a Liberty could we poſſibly form a true Taſte, or have any certain Knowledg of Affairs, ſince the Excellence or Imperfection of all Matters beſt appears by oppoſing 'em to one another. And I was ſure (which I find was no Miſtake) that the Learning and Sentiments of JOHN MILTON were too conſiderable not to deſerve the higheſt Commendation or Diſlike, according to the Judgment or Affection of the Readers.

SINCE

SINCE therefore it was equally lawful for me to write whoſe Life I pleas'd (when my Hand was in) the firſt Charge againſt me, one would think, ſhould have bin, that I had not fairly repreſented my Hero. But, very far from that, the great Crime whereof I am arraign'd, conſiſts in telling more than ſom People would have me; or diſcovering Truths not fit to be known; and the Manner of my Relation is to them altogether as offenſive and diſpleaſing as the Matter of it. 'Tis ſtrange that Men ſhould be found of a Judgment weak enough to make a Crime of ſuch Proceedings in a Writer, who labors to keep himſelf wholly independent from the Fears or Engagements of any Party; and who profeſs'd in the very beginning of his Book, that "being neither provok'd by Ma-"lice, nor brib'd by Favor, he

"would as well dare to ſay all "that was true, as ſcorn to write "any Falſhood. But the rude Oppoſition with which I have met, notwithſtanding ſuch plain Declarations, convinces me more than ever how much I was in the Right by following the peculiar Method I propos'd to my ſelf in compiling MILTON's Life, and which I partly declar'd in theſe Terms: 'In the Characters 'of Sects and Parties, Books or 'Opinions, I ſhall produce his 'own Words as I find 'em in his 'Works; that thoſe who approve 'his Reaſons, may owe all the 'Obligation to himſelf; and 'that I may eſcape the Blame 'of ſuch as may diſlike what he 'ſays. Now, what could be more impartial than this? or more likely to ſecure me from all Imputations, whatever ſhould be the Reception of MILTON from the Public? Yet if by adhering re-

religiouſly to this Rule ſo loud a Clamor was raiſed againſt me, it is apparent how much worſe I might expect to be treated, had I trod in the common Road. For if, like moſt Hiſtorians, I had in my own Words (tho' with never ſo much Candor) related the Actions or Sentiments of my Author, my Adverſaries would preſently have told the World that this was not the true MILTON, but one of my own Creation, whom I promted to ſpeak what I durſt not own; and by whoſe Mouth I had publiſh'd all hoſe Opinions which I would recommend to other People. Well knowing therefore the ordinary Temper and Artifices of theſe Men, I did partly on that Account produce his own Words to obviat their Sophiſtry and Calumnies, their two principal offenſive Weapons; and alſo to ſpare my ſelf the Pains of Quotations af-

terwards, to prove I had neither injur'd him nor abus'd my Readers. Beſides this particular Regard to them, I am alſo of opinion that this is the beſt and only good way of writing the Hiſtory of ſuch a Man. And had the Ancients always follow'd it, our Modern Critics would have been leſs exercis'd to diſcern their real Sentiments; nor wou'd they be ſo often oblig'd to examin whether they underſtood or miſ-repreſented their Authors.

BUT inſtead of any Objections like theſe, I am expreſly told that I ought not to meddle with MILTON's Books, nor to revive his Sentiments, or the Memory of thoſe Quarrel's wherein he was engag'd; which is only, in other Words, that I ought not to write his Life at all. For what, I pray, is the principal Part of a Learned Man's Life, but the exact Hiſtory of his

hisBooks and Opinions,to inform the World about the Occaſion of his writing, what it contain'd, how he perform'd it, and with what Conſequences or Succeſs? I have no Reaſon from my own ſecond Thoughts, the Opinion of better Judges, or the Fortune of the Book, to be diſſatisfi'd with my Conduct on this Occaſion. And had this Method, as I ſaid before, been ſtrictly obſerv'd, we might have more Knowledg and fewer Critics.

AY but, ſay theſe Gentlemen, you have made an Inroad on our Perſuaſion, and directly attack'd the ſacred Majeſty of Kings, the venerable Order of Biſhops, the beſt conſtituted Church in the World, our holy Liturgy, and decent Ceremonies, the Authority of Councils, the Teſtimony of the Fathers, and a hundred other things which we profoundly reſpect and admire: nor

are we the only Sufferers; for almoſt all other Sects and Parties have equal Reaſons of Complaint againſt you. Well, be it ſo then; but, good Sirs, betake your ſelves for Reparation to JOHN MILTON; or, if he is not to be brought to eaſie Terms, defend your Caſtles and Territories againſt him with all the Vigor you can. For, I aſſure you I am no further concern'd in the Quarrel than to ſhew you the Enemy, and to give a true Account of his Forces. And all this, if you were of a peaceable Diſpoſition, you might learn from theſe plain Words in the Concluſion of the Life: 'Tis probable that you (as well 'as I, or any other) may diſap-'prove of MILTON's Senti-'ments in ſeveral Caſes; but 'I'm ſure, you are far from 'being diſpleas'd to find 'em 'particulariz'd in the Hiſtory 'of

'of his Life: For we ſhould have 'no true Account of Things, if 'Authors related nothing but 'what they lik'd themſelves: 'One Party would never ſuffer 'the Lives of TARQUIN, or 'PHALARIS, or SYLLA, or 'CÆSAR to appear, while a-'nother would be as ready to 'ſuppreſs thoſe of CICERO, 'of CATO, of TRAJAN, or 'BRUTUS. But a Hiſtorian 'ought to conceal or diſguiſe 'nothing; and the Reader is 'to be left to judg of the Virtues 'he ſhould imitat, or the Vices 'he ought to deteſt and avoid.

THIS might ſerve for a ſufficient Anſwer to all that has bin yet objected to MILTON's Life, if any Reply were thought neceſſary: For the trivial and ſcurrilous Libels of mercenary Fellows I ſhall never regard, they being already ſufficiently neglected by the World, and making them-

themſelves as little by this Practice, as any of a more vindictive Temper could deſire: Beſides, that to anſwer 'em in their own Dialect, I muſt firſt learn to ſpeak it; which is abſolutely contrary to my Genius, and below the Dignity of Human Nature, ſince no body openly approves it even at *Billingſgate*. I ſhall as little conſider the cenſorious Tongues of certain more Zealous than Religious People, who judge of others by their own narrow Schemes, and deſpiſe all Knowledge in compariſon of their privat Imaginations, wherein they exceedingly pleaſe themſelves; a Happineſs no body envies them. Nor ſhould I, if that were all, think my ſelf concern'd in making any Return to the obliging Compliments of thoſe Gentlemen who (as Father PAUL formerly ſaid of himſelf) remember me oftner in their Sermons than in their Prayers

ers; tho' ſom: of them are apt to ſay, that when they mention *Turks*, *Jews*, *Infidels*, and *Heretics*, they do not forget me. But when I am openly accus'd before the greateſt Aſſembly in the World, the Repreſentative Body of the People of *England*, let the Charge be never ſo frivolous in it ſelf, or to be ſlighted on any other Occaſion, yet ſuch a Reſpect is due to the Dignity of thoſe to whom it was exhibited, that I hold my ſelf oblig'd to convince 'em of my Innocence; and to remove all Suſpicion far from me, of what in its own Nature is acknowledg'd to be Criminal, or by them might be reputed Indecent.

THE Matter of Fact is this: On the Thirtieth of *January*, Mr. OFSPRING BLACKHALL, who ſtiles himſelf *Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majeſty*, Preacht a Sermon before the Honorable Houſe

Houſe of Commons; wherein, after exclaiming againſt the Author of MILTON's Life, for denying *Icon Baſilike* to be the Production of King CHARLES the Firſt, he purſues his Accuſation in theſe Terms. 'We may ceaſe 'to wonder, ſays he, that he 'ſhould have the Boldneſs, with-'out Proof, and againſt Proof, to 'deny the Authority of this Book, 'who is ſuch an Infidel as to 'doubt, and is ſhameleſs and im-'pudent enough, even in Print, 'and in a Chriſtian Country, pub-'licly to affront our Holy Reli-'gion, by declaring his Doubt, 'that ſeveral Pieces under the 'Name of Chriſt and his Apoſtles '(he muſt mean thoſe now re-'ceiv'd by the whole Chriſtian 'Church, for I know of no o-'ther) are ſuppoſititious; tho' 'thro' the remoteneſs of thoſe 'Ages, the Death of the Perſons 'concern'd, and the decay of o-'ther

'ther Monuments which might 'give us true Information, the 'Spuriouſneſs thereof is yet un-'diſcover'd. Here is indeed a Charge of a very high Nature, I will not ſay in his own mean Language, an impudent and a ſhameleſs one; tho' if it be not better prov'd, I cannot hinder others from calling it what they pleaſe, or the thing deſerves. But before I proceed to make Obſervations on it, I ſhall inſert the intire Paſſage of my Book, which he has taken the liberty of abridging, and ſo joining the Words of two widely different Aſſertions, as if they were but one. About this little Artifice however I ſhall make no difference with him; for I can eaſily determin our Controverſie, without uſing all the Advantages I might otherwiſe take.

AFTER ſtating the Proofs therefore that Dr. GAUDEN, and not

not King CHARLES, was the true Author of *Icon Baſilike*, I added a very natural Obſervation in the following Words. 'When I ſeriouſly conſider how 'all this happen'd among our 'ſelves within the Compaſs of 'Forty Years, in a time of great 'Learning and Politeneſs, when 'both Parties ſo narrowly watch'd 'over one anothers Actions, 'and what a great Revolution in 'Civil and Religious Affairs was 'partly occaſion'd by the Cre-'dit of that Book, I ceaſe to 'wonder any longer how ſo ma-'ny ſuppoſititious Pieces under 'the Name of CHRIST, his Apo-'ſtles, and other great Perſons, 'ſhould be publiſh'd and ap-'prov'd in thoſe Primitive times, 'when it was of ſo much Impor-'tance to have 'em believ'd; 'when the Cheats were too ma-'ny on all ſides for them to re-'proach one another, which yet 'they

'they often did; when Com-
'merce was not near ſo general
'as now, and the whole Earth
'entirely over-ſpread with the
'Darkneſs of Superſtition. I
'doubt rather the ſpuriouſneſs of
'ſeveral more ſuch Books is yet
'undiſcover'd, thro the remote-
'neſs of thoſe Ages, the death
'of the Perſons concern'd, and
'the decay of other Monuments,
'which might give us true In-
'formation. Here then in the firſt place it is plain, that, I ſay, a great many ſpurious Books were early father'd on CHRIST, his Apoſtles, and other great Names, part whereof are ſtill acknowledg'd to be genuin, and the reſt to be forg'd, in neither of which Aſſertions I could be juſtly ſuppos'd to mean any Books of the N. Teſtament, as I ſhall preſently evince. But Mr. BLACKHALL affirms, That I muſt intend *thoſe now receiv'd by the whole Chriſtian Church,*

Church, for he knows of no other. A cogent Argument truly! and clearly proves his Logic to be juſt of a Piece with his Reading. I admire what this Gentleman has bin doing ſo long at the Univerſity, that he ſhould be ſuch a great Stranger to theſe things. But now I find a Man may be a very good Divine without knowing any thing of the Fathers, tho' a Layman is always referr'd to 'em when he ſtarts any Difficulties, which makes him ſooner acquieſce and ſwallow what he cannot chew than get Information at ſo dear a rate. But had Mr. BLACKHALL been diſpos'd to deal ingenuouſly with me, he might ſee, without the help of the Fathers, that I did not mean the Books of the New Teſtament, when I mention'd Suppoſititious Pieces under the Name of CHRIST, ſince there is none aſcrib'd to him in the whole

whole Bible; nor do we read there that ever he wrote any thing, except once with his Finger on the Ground, when he acquitted the Woman taken in Adultery: And, for ought appears to the contrary, Mr. BLACKHALL may deny that to be any Writing, becauſe he knows not what it was; yet ſom *German* Divines, as well read as himſelf, have preſum'd to tell us the Contents of it, and came almoſt to excommunicating one another in their ſolemn Diſputes about this weighty Affair. To this Negative Argument from the Silence of the New Teſtament, we may add the Poſitive Teſtimony of St. AUGUSTIN and St. JEROM, whereof the former affirms, 'That the Lord himſelf wrote '* nothing, which makes it neceſ-'ſary we ſhould believe thoſe who Joh. 8. 5.

* Dicit Auguſtinus (de Conſenſu Evangel. l. 1. c. 7.) quod ipſe Dominus nihil ſcripſerit, ut aliis de illo ſcribentibus neceſſe ſit credere.

'have written of him: And the latter ſays, 'That † our Saviour 'left no Volum of his own Do-'ctrin behind him, as is extra-'vagantly feign'd in moſt of the 'Apochryphal Pieces.

NOW to convince all the World that I did not intend by thoſe Pieces the Books of the New Teſtament, as well as to ſhew the Raſhneſs and Uncharitableneſs of Mr. Blackhall's Aſſertion, I ſhall here inſert a large Catalogue of Books anciently aſcrib'd to Jesus Christ, his Apoſtles, their Acquaintance, Companions, and Contemporaries. Of theſe ſom remain ſtill entirely extant, which I ſhall mark in their Places. We have ſeveral Fragments of others preſerv'd by the Fathers; and all that is left us of the reſt are only their

† Salvator nullum volumen doctrinæ ſuæ proprium dereliquit, quod in pleriſq; Apochryphorum deliramenta confingunt. Hieronym. in Commentar. ad Ezechielis, cap. 44.

bare

bare Titles. I conſtantly refer to the Books wherein they are quoted, that every body may inform himſelf of the Fact. And after the Catalogue is ended, I ſhall diſtinguiſh the Books which the Ancicients alledg'd as the genuin Works of the Apoſtles or Apoſtolic Men, from thoſe that they rejected as the Forgeries of Heretics; which is a good Argument however, that they were receiv'd by ſom Party of Chriſtians to countenance their Opinions. Next I deſign to name thoſe Pieces of whoſe Spuriouſneſs I doubted, tho' their Authority is ſtill receiv'd; and ſo conclude this Point with ſom material Obſervations.

A Catalogue of Books mentioned by the Fathers and other Ancient Writers, as truly or falſely aſcrib'd to JESUS CHRIST *his Apoſtles, and other eminent Perſons.*

I. *Of Books reported to be written by* CHRIST *himſelf, or that particularly concern him.*

1. HIS *Letter in anſwer to that of* Abgarus *King of* Edeſſa. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 13. You may alſo conſult *Cedrenus, Nicephorus, Conſtantinus Porphyrogennetus* in the Manipulus of *Combefiſius, p.* 79, &c. *extant.*
2. *The Epiſtle of Chriſt to* Peter *and* Paul. Auguſtin. contra Fauſtum, l. 28. c. 13.
3. *The Parables and Sermons of Chriſt.* Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 39.

4. *A*

4. *A Hymn which Chriſt ſecretly taught his Apoſtles and Diſciples,* Auguſtin. Epiſt. 253. ad Ceretum Epiſcopum.
5. *A Book of the Magic of Chriſt,* Auguſtin. de conſenſu evangelico, l. 1. c. 9, 10. If it be not the ſame with the Epiſtle to *Peter* and *Paul.*
6. *A Book of the Nativity of our Savior, of the Holy Virgin his Mother, and her Midwife.* Gelaſius apud Gratianum, Decret. 1. part. Diſt. 15. c. 3. But I believe this is the ſame with the Goſpel of *James*; whereof in its due Order.

II. *MARY.*

1. *An Epiſtle to* Ignatius: Which is now extant among his Works.
2. *Another Epiſtle to the Inhabitants of* Meſſina: To be read among the ſame *Ignatius*'s Works.

3. *A Book of the Nativity of the Virgin* Mary, Uſually publiſh'd with St. *Jerome*'s Works.
4. *Another Book about the Death of* Mary, is ſaid by *Lambecius* to ly unpubliſh'd in the Emperor's Library, T. 4. p. 131.
5. We ſhall not inſiſt on *the Book of* Mary *concerning the Miracles of Chriſt, and the Ring of King* Solomon.

III. *PETER.*

1. *The Goſpel of* Peter. Origen. T. 11. Comment. in Mat. Hieron. in Catalog. Scriptor. Eccleſ. c. 1. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 3, 25. Idem, l. 6. c. 12.
2. *The Acts of* Peter. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 3. Hieronym. in Catalogo. Origen. Tom. 21. Comment. in Joan. Iſidorus Peluſiota, l. 2. Epiſt. 99.
3. *The Revelation of* Peter. Clem. Alex. in Epitom. Theodot. Euſeb.

ſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 25. l. 6. c. 14. Idem, l. 3. c. 3. Hieron. in Catalago, c. 1. Zozomen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 7. c. 19.

4. *The Epiſtle of* Peter *to* Clemens, is ſtill ſhewn in the *Æthiopic* Language by the Eaſtern Chriſtians. Tilmont, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Tom. 1. part. 2. pag. 497. And he has it from *Cotelerius*. *The Epiſtle of* Clemens *to* James, is publiſh'd in the *Clementines*.

5. *The Doctrine of* Peter. Origen, in præfat. ad libros principiorum Gregor. Nazian. epiſt. 16. Elias Levita in notis ad Nazianzeni Orationem ad cives trepidantes.

6. *The preaching of* Peter (if it be not the ſame with his Doctrin) Origen. Tom. 14. in Joan. Idem, in præfat. ad Libros principiorum. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 1. & l. 6, &c. Lactant. l. 4. c. 21. Autor libri de baptiſmo Hæreticorum inter opera Cypriani. Joan. Damaſcen. l. 2. parallel. c. 16.

7. *The Liturgy of* Peter, publiſh'd by *Lindanus* at *Antwerp* in the Year 1588, and at *Paris*, *Anno* 1595.
8. *The Itinerary, or Journys of* Peter (mention'd by Epiphanius, Hæreſ. 30. n. 15. and by *Athanaſius* in his Synopſis of the Scriptures;) I believe to be the ſame with the Recognitions of St. *Clement* ſtill extant, wherein we have a very particular Account of *Peter*'s Voyages and Performances.
9. *The Judgment of* Peter. Hieronym. in Catalogo, c. 1.

IV. *ANDREW.*

1. *The Goſpel of St.* Andrew. Gelaſius in Decreto, &c.
2. *The Acts of St.* Andrew. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 25. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 47. n. 1. Item, 61, 63, 47. Philaſtrius in Hæreſ. 8. Gelaſius in decreto; & Turribius

bius Aſturicenſis apud Paſchaſium Queſnerum inter epiſtolas Leonis magni, p. 459.

V. *JAMES.*

1. *The Goſpel of St.* James, *or his Protoevangelion.* Origen, Tom. 11. Comment. in Mat. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 30. n. 23. Euſtathius Antiochen. Comment. in Hexaemer. Epiphanius monachus in notis Allatii ad Euſtathium. Multa ex hoc Evangelio mutuaſſe Gregorium Nyſſenum, tacito Jacobi nomine, monet Allatius ibid. This Book is now in Manuſcript in the Library of *Vienna*, as is ſaid by *Lambecius*, l. 5. p. 130. Father *Simon* ſays, he has ſeen two Manuſcript Copies of it in the King of *France*'s Library. *Nouvelles Obſervations, &c.* p. 4. It was printed by *Neander* and alſo by *Grynæus* in the firſt Volum of his Orthodoxographs.

2. *The*

2. *The Liturgy of St.* James is printed in the ſecond Tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, at *Paris*, *Anno* 1624.
3. We mention'd before *The Book of St.* James *concerning the Death of the Virgin* Mary; but there want not Reaſons to believe *John*, and not *James*, to be the Author of it.

VI. *JOHN.*

1. *The Acts of St.* John. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 25. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 47. n. 1. Auguſtin. l. 1. contra adverſarios legis & prophetarum. Turribii Scriptum inter Epiſtolas Leonis magni; & Phot. in codice 229.
2. Another Goſpel of *John*. Epiph. Hæreſ. 30. n. 23.
3. *The Itinerary, or Voyages of St.* John. Gelaſius in decreto.
4. *The Liturgy of St.* John. It was together with ſeveral others printed

printed in *Syriac* at *Rome*. See Father *Simon* in his Supplement to *Leo* of *Modena*.

5. We ſpoke twice before of St. *John* or *St. James*'s *Book about the Death of the Virgin* Mary.
6. The Traditions of St. *John*. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. ult.

VII. *PHILIP.*

1. *The Goſpel of St. Philip*. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 26. n. 13. Timotheus Presbyter a Combefiſio editus in tomo ſecundo Auctuarii.
2. *The Acts of St. Philip*. Gelaſius in Deceto.

VIII. *BARTHOLOMEW.*

2. *The Goſpel of St. Bartholomew*, Hieronym. in prolegom. Com. in Mat. Dionyſius Areopagita de Myſtica Theologia, cap. 1.

IX. *THO-*

IX. *THOMAS.*

1. *The Goſpel of St. Thomas.* Origen. in Homil. ad Luc. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 25. Nicephor. in Stichometria. Ambroſ. in Comment. ad Luc. Auguſtin. contra Fauſtum, l. 22. c. 79. Cyril. Hieroſolym. Catech. 4. 6. Gelaſius in decreto.
2. *The Acts of St. Thomas.* Epiphan. Hæreſ. 47. n. 1. Idem, Hæreſ. 61. n. 1. Auguſtin. contra Adimant. Idem, l. 1. de ſermone Dei. Idem, contra Fauſtum, l. 22. c. 79.
3. *The Revelations of S. Thomas.* Gelaſius in Decreto.
4. *The Itinerary of St. Thomas.* Gelaſius in Decreto. Nicephor. in Stichometria.
5. *The Book of the Infancy of Chriſt by St. Thomas.* Epiphan. Hæreſ. 34. n. 18. Nicephor. in Stichometria. Gelaſ. in Decreto. Lambecius ſays,

ſays, that this Book lies in Manuſcript in the Library of *Vienna*, Tom. 7. p. 20. Father *Simon* writes that there is a Manuſcript Copy of it in the *French* King's Library; *Nouvelles Obſervations, &c.* It was printed two Years ſince in *Latin*, and *Arabic* with learned Notes by Mr. *Syke* at *Utrecht*.

X. *MATTHEW.*

1. *The Liturgy of St. Matthew.* Tom. 27. Bibliothecæ Patrum Lugdunenſis. Natalis Alex. in ſæculo 1. part 1. c. 11. art. 1. Gerardus, tom. 1. Conf. Cathol. There is alſo a Liturgy attributed to St. *Mark*.

XI. *THADDÆUS.*

1. *The Goſpel of St. Thaddæus.* Gelaſius in Decreto.

XII.

XII. *MATTHIAS.*

1. *The Goſpel of St. Matthias.* Origen. Homil 1. in Luc. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Hieronym. in prolegom. ad Comment. in Mat. Ambroſ. in Comment. ad Luc. Gelaſ. in Decreto.
2. *The Traditions of St. Matthias.* Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 7.

XIII. *PAUL.*

1. *The Acts of St. Paul.* Origen. l. 1. c. 2. de Principiis. Idem, tom. 21. in Joan. Euſeb. l. 3. c. 3. Hiſt. Eccleſ. c. 25. Philaſtrius, Hæreſ. 88.
2. *The Acts of Paul and Thecla.* Tertullian. de Baptiſmo. c. 17. Hieronym. de Script. Eccleſ. in Paulo & Luca. Auguſtin. l. 30. contra Fauſtum, c. 4. Gelaſius in Decreto. Nuper Editus eſt hic Liber Oxonii. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 78. n. 16. Extant.

3. *The*

3. *The Epiſtle of Paul to the Laodiceans.* Tertullian adverſus Marcion. l. 5. c. 17. Hieronym. in Catalogo, c. 5. Philaſtr. in Hæreſ. 88; Theodoret. tom. 8. Hæreſ. 47. n. 9. & alibi. Legatur etiam Theophylactus extant.
4. *A third Epiſtle of Paul to the Theſſalonians.* 2 Theſ. 2. 2.
5. *A third Epiſtle to the Corinthians, and a ſecond to the Epheſians.* 1 Cor. 5. 9. Epheſ. 3. 3.
6. *The Epiſtles of Paul to Seneca, with thoſe of Seneca to Paul.* Hieronym. in Catalogo, c. 12. Auguſtin. de Civitate Dei, l. 6. c. 10. Idem, in Epiſt. 54. ad Macedonium. extant.
7. *The Revelation of St. Paul.* Epiphan. Hæreſ. 38. n. 2. Zozomen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 7. c. 19. Auguſtin. Tract. 98. in Joan. Theophylact. in Schol. ad 2. ad Corinth. Mic. Glycas. annal. part 2. Gelaſ. in Decreto. Zozomen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 7. c. 19.

8. *The*

8. *The Preaching of St. Paul.* Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 6. Lactant. l. 4. c. 21. Autor etiam Anonymus de non iterando Baptiſmo, à Rigaltio in obſervationibus ad Cyprianum inſertus.

9. *Saint Paul's Narrative concerning the charming of Vipers, reveal'd to him by St. Michael in a Dream.* *Lambecius* ſays, that there is now a Manuſcript of this Book in the Library of *Vienna*, Tom. 5. p. 103.

10. *The* Anabaticon *of Saint Paul, wherein he relates what he ſaw when he was ſnatch'd up into the third Heavens.* Epiphan. Hæreſ. 38. n. 2.

11. Som would infer from his own Words, that he wrote *a Goſpel*; *In the day*, ſays he, *when God ſhall judge the Secrets of Men by Chriſt Jeſus according to my Goſpel.* Rom. 2. 16.

XIV. *Of the Gospels of* Judas Iscariot, *of* Eve, *and* Abraham, *&c.*

1. That none of the Apostles might be thought unable to write a Gospel we find one alledg'd by the *Caianites*, a Sect of the *Gnostics*, under the Name of *Judas Iscariot*. Epiphan. Hæres. 38. Theodoret. l. 1. de Hæret. Fabul. c. 15.
2. Nor should we wonder at *Judas*'s being an Author, when we read of the Prophetical Gospel of *Eve*, whom the *Gnostics* reckoned a Patroness of their Opinions, and to have receiv'd extraordinary Knowledg and Light in her Conference with the Serpent. Epiphan. Hæres. 26. n. 2.
3. The *Sethians*, another sort of *Gnostics*, shew'd *an Apocalypse under the Name of the Patriarch Abraham*; not to mention his learned Pieces of Astrology, nor the Books of *Adam* believ'd by the

Jews. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 30. n. 16. Iſidor. Peluſiot. l. 2. Epiſt. 99.

4. *The Prophecy of Enoch*, which St. *Jude* quotes, is for the moſt part ſtill extant, and was believ'd to be Genuin by ſeveral Fathers, who alledg it in defence of the Chriſtian Religion. Origen. contra Celſ. l. 5. Idem de Principiis. Tertullian. de habitu Muliebri, c. 3, &c.

5. *The Teſtament of the twelve Patriarchs, the Aſſumption of Moſes, the Book of Eldad and Medad, the Pſalms of King Solomon, the Revelation of Zachary, and the Viſion of Iſaiah*; but I forget that I am reciting the ſpurious Books of the Chriſtians, and not of the Jews, who, when there's occaſion, will afford as large a Catalogue.

XV. *Of the Goſpels of the* Hebrews *and the* Egyptians, *with ſom general Pieces.*

1. *The Goſpel of the twelve Apoſtles.* Origen Homil. 1. in Luc. Ambroſ. in Proœm. Commentar. in Luc. Theophylact. Comment. in cap. 1. v. 1. ſecundum Lucam, &c. But this Piece was, I believe, Originally the ſame with
2. *The Goſpel of the Hebrews.* Ignat. in Epiſt. ad Smyrnæos. Clem. Alex. l. 1. Stromat. Origen. tract. 8. in Matt. Idem, Homil. 14. in Jerem. & in Comment. ad Joan. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 30. n. 13, 22, &c. Hieronym. in Catalogo Script. Eccleſ. c. 4. & alibi Paſſim. This Goſpel ſeveral have maintain'd to be the Original of St. *Matthew.*
3. *The Goſpel of the Egyptians,* Clem. Rom. Epiſt. 2. ad Corinth. c. 12. Clem. Alex. l. 3. Stromat. Id. ibid.

Origen. Homil. in Luc. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 62. n. 2.

4. *The Apoſtles Creed*, tho' of late Years it begins to be call'd in queſtion.

5. *The Doctrine and Conſtitution of the Apoſtles.* Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 25. Athanaſ. in Synopſi. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 80. n. 7. 45. n. 5. 70. n. 10. 75. n. 6. Idem in Compendiaria fidei expoſitione, n. 22. Incertus de Aleatoribus inter Scripta Cypriani. There are Διδαχαὶ and Διδασκαλίαι, or Doctrines, both attributed to every one of the Apoſtles ſingly, and alſo to their Companions and immediat Succeſſors, too long to inſert particularly. Theſe Doctrins were bound with the other Books of the New Teſtament, as appears by the *Stichometry* of *Nicephorus* and *Anaſtaſius*; tho' it was not always pretended, that they were Original Pieces, but rather Collections of what

what the Companions and Succeſſors of the Apoſtles either heard, or pretended to hear from their own Mouths.

6. We need not produce our Authorities for *the Canons and Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles*, ſince ſo many learned Members of the Church of *England* have written large Volums to prove 'em genuin.

7. *The Precepts of* Peter *and* Paul. This Book lies in Manuſcript in the Great Duke's Library in *Florence*, if we believe *Ludovicus Jacobus* a Sancto *Carolo* in his Bibliotheca Pontificia, l. 1. pag. 177.

8. The preſent *Cophtic* Chriſtians have a Book of Doctrins, which they believe was compos'd by the twelve Apoſtles, with the Aſſiſtance of St. *Paul*, &c.

9. *The Goſpel of Perfection.* Epiphan. Hæreſ. 26. n. 2.

10. *The Acts of all the Apoſtles, written by themſelves.* Epiphan. Hæreſ. 30. n. 16. Iſidor. Peluſ. l. 2. epiſt. 99. Varadatus in epiſt. ad Leonem Imp. Tom. 4. Concil. Labbæi. col. 978. *Jo. Malala,* Chronograph. l. x.

11. *The Itinerary of all the Apoſtles,* as well as of every one of em ſingly, was formerly extant.

XVI. *Of the Writings of the Diſciples and Companions of the Apoſtles.*

OF the Books aſcrib'd to the Diſciples and Companions of the Apoſtles, and which are ſtill extant, ſom are thought genuin and of great Authority at this time: Every one were approv'd at ſom time, or by ſom Party: And yet I am of Opinion, that it is the eaſieſt Task in the World (next to that of ſhewing the Ignorance and Superſtition of the Writers) to prove

prove them all Spurious, and fraudulently impos'd on the Credulous. Thoſe I mean, are the Epiſtles of *Clemens Romanus* to the *Corinthians*, his *Recognitions*, *Decretals*, and other Pieces bearing his Name: All the Epiſtles of *Ignatius*; the Epiſtle of *Polycarpus* to the *Philippians*, with his other Writings; The Acts of the Martyrdom of *Ignatius* and *Polycarpus*; The Paſtor of *Hermas*; The Epiſtle of *Barnabas*; The Works of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*; The Epiſtle of *Marcellus*, *Peter*'s Diſciple, to *Nereus* and *Achilleus*, and his Treatiſe of the Conflict of *Peter* and *Simon Magus*; The Life of Saint *John*, by *Prochorus*; The Petition of *Veronica* to *Herod* on the behalf of CHRIST; The Paſſion of *Timothy* by *Polycrates*; The Paſſions of *Peter* and *Paul* in two Books by *Linus*; The two Epiſtles of *Martial* of *Limouſin*, and the Life of the ſame by *Aurelianus*; The Goſpel of *Nicodemus*; The Hiſto-

ry of the Apoſtolical Conflict by *Abdias*, who is ſaid to be appointed firſt Biſhop of *Babylon* by the Apoſtles; The Paſſion of Saint *Andrew* written by the Presbyters of *Achaia*; The Epiſtle of *Evodius*, entitul'd *the Light*; the Altercation of *Jaſon* and *Papiſcus*; The Acts of *Titus* compos'd by *Zena*, St. *Paul's* Companion, with a multitude of other Acts and Paſſions. The Goſpel of *Barnabas*, the Revelation of *Stephen*, the Paſſion of *Barnabas*, and the Epiſtles of *Joſeph* the *Arimathean* to the *Britons* are quite loſt; and were they extant, would probably appear to be as fooliſh and fabulous as the reſt.

XVII. *Of Pieces alledg'd in favor of Chriſtianity, which were forg'd under the Name of Heathens.*

1. The Works of *Triſmegiſtus* and *Aſclepius* extant.

2. The

2. The Books of *Zoroaſter* and *Hyſtaſpes*.
3. The *Sibyllin* Oracles cited ſo frequently, and with ſuch Authority by the Primitive Fathers, that * *Celſus* takes occaſion from thence to nick-name the Chriſtians *Sibylliſts*. extant.
4. The Letter of *Pontius Pilat* to *Tiberius*, with the Speech of *Tiberius* to the Senat. extant.
5. The Epiſtle of *Lentulus*, giving a Deſcription of the Perſon of CHRIST. extant.
6. The Epiſtles or Orders of *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, and *Marcus Aurelius*, in favor of the Chriſtians. extant in *Juſtin Martyr*, &c. &c. &c.

* Origen. contr. Celſ. l. 5.

HERE'S

HERE'S a long Liſt for Mr. Blackhall, who, 'tis probable, will not think the more meanly of himſelf for being unacquainted with theſe Pieces; nor, if that were all, ſhould I be forward to think the worſe of him on this Account: but I think he is to blame for denying that there were any ſuch, becauſe he knew nothing of 'em; much leſs ſhould he infer from thence, that I deny'd the Scriptures; which Scandal however, becauſe manifeſtly proceeding from Ignorance, I heartily forgive him, as every good Chriſtian ought to do.

TO explain now therefore the ſeveral Members of the Paſſage in Milton's Life: In the firſt place, by the ſpurious Pieces I meant, tho' not all, yet a good parcel of thoſe Books in the Catalogue, which I am perſuaded were partly forg'd by ſom more zealous than diſcreet Chriſtians, to ſupply the brevity of the

the Apoſtolic Memoirs; partly by deſigning Men to ſupport their privat Opinions, which they hop'd to effect by virtue of ſuch reſpected Authorities: And ſom of 'em, I doubt, were invented by Heathens and Jews to impoſe on the Credulity of many wel-dipos'd Perſons, who greedily ſwallow'd any Book for Divine Revelation that contain'd a great many Miracles, mixt with a few good Morals, while their Adverſaries laught in their Sleeves all the while, to ſee their Tricks ſucceed, and were rivetted in their ancient Prejudices by the greater Superſtition of ſuch Enthuſiaſts.

IN the ſecond place, by the Books of whoſe Spuriouſneſs I ſaid the World was not yet convinc'd, tho' in my privat Opinion I could not think 'em genuin, I meant thoſe of the other great Perſons, or the ſuppos'd Writings of certain Apoſtolic Men (as they call 'em) which are

at

at this preſent, as well as in ancient times, read with extraordinary Veneration. And they are the Epiſtle of Barnabas, the Paſtor of Hermas, the Epiſtle of Polycarpus to the *Philippians*, the firſt Epiſtle of Clemens Romanus to the *Corinthians*, and the ſeven Epiſtles of Ignatius. Theſe are generally receiv'd in the Church of *Rome*, and alſo by moſt Proteſtants; but thoſe of the Church of *England* have particularly ſignaliz'd themſelves in their Defence, and by publiſhing the correcteſt Impreſſions of them. The Ancients paid them the higheſt Reſpect, and reckon'd the firſt four of 'em eſpecially, as good as any part of the New Teſtament. The Epiſtle of Barnabas is by * Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen, not only reckon'd genuin, but cited as Scripture; tho' he ſays in expreſs Terms, That *the Apoſtles, before their Converſion, were the greateſt Sinners in*

* Stromat. l. 2. & 5. Contra Cell. l. 1. de Princip. l. 3.

Na-

Nature; which, if believ'd, would rob us of an Argument we draw from their Integrity and Simplicity againſt Infidels, to ſay nothing now of the many other ridiculous Paſſages in BARNABAS. The Paſtor, or Viſions, Precepts, and Similitudes of HERMAS (who is ſuppos'd to be the Perſon mention'd by PAUL in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*) is cited as Canonical Scripture by * IRENÆUS, CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, ORIGEN, and others, and was for ſuch receiv'd by ſeveral Churches, tho' I think it the ſillyeſt Book in the World. The Epiſtle of POLYCARPUS (the ſuppos'd Diſciple of St. JOHN) was read in the Churches of *Aſia*, and is quoted by † IRENÆUS, EUSEBIUS and others. The Epiſtle of CLEMENS ROMANUS (whom they would have to be the ſame that's mention'd by PAUL in his Epiſtle to the *Philippians*)

* Adverſ. Hæreſ. l. 4. c. 3. Stromat. l. 1. 2. 4. 6. princip. l. 1. c. 3. l. 2. c. 1. Homil. 10. in Joſ. & alibi paſſim. † L. 1. contr. Hæreſ. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 14. Phot. cod. 126.

lippians) is cited by * Irenæus, Clemens Alexanrinus, Origen, Eusebius, and others. The Epiſtles of Ignatius are quoted by † Irenæus, Euſebius, with ſeveral more; but particularly by * Origen, who ſays, that in one of 'em he found it very elegantly written, That *the Virginity of* Mary *was a Secret to the Devil; which* † *Virginity, with her Delivery, and the Death of our Lord,* Ignatius *ſays, were Three famous Myſteries wrought in the Silence of God.* Theſe Words may be now read in the Epiſtle of Ignatius to the *Epheſians.* Now theſe are the Books of whoſe Genuinneſs and Authority I took the Liberty to doubt, notwithſtanding the better Opinion which is entertain'd of 'em by others. My preſent Buſineſs is

* Contra Hæreſ. l. 3. c. 3. Stromat. l. 1, 4 5, 6. De Princip. l. 2. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 16, 36. l. 4. c. 22, 23. ‖ Contra Hæreſ. l. 5. c. 28. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 25. * Hom. l. 6. in Luc.

† Ἔλαθε τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτο ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας, καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου, τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς ἅπερ ἐνηργάσθη ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ πεφάνθη. Ep. ad Epheſ.

not

not to inſiſt on this Subject, but to clear my ſelf of an Imputation, which I thought no body could infer from my Words. Yet ſince many were leſs knowing than I imagin'd, tho' Mr. BLACKHALL alone has the Candor of publiſhing his Weakneſs to the World, I aſſure 'em all that I alluded to theſe Books; and I hope they will be juſt enough in allowing me beſt to explain my own meaning, and prove ſo tender of their own Reputation, as to conſider well of it, before they cenſure me another time.

BUT tho' I will not, as I ſaid, enter now into a particular Diſcuſſion of theſe Writings, yet I ſhall offer one thing to the Conſideration of their Defenders. Either they really believe the Epiſtles of BARNABAS and CLEMENS (for Example) to be theirs, or to be ſuppoſititious. If not theirs, there's a ſpeedy end of the Diſpute, and I have attain'd my End without more

more Argumentation. But if they think 'em genuin, why do they not receive 'em into the Canon of Scriptures, ſince they were the Companions and Fellow laborers of the Apoſtles, as well as St. Mark or St. Luke? If this Quality was ſufficient to entitle the two laſt to Inſpiration, why ſhould it not do as much for the two firſt? And if this be not all the Reaſon, pray let us know the true one, having never heard of any other. To ſay, that tho' the Books are authentic, yet they ought not to be receiv'd now into the Canon, becauſe the Ancients did not think fit to approve 'em, is but a mere Evaſion: For 'tis well known, that till after Euſebius's time, neither the ſecond Epiſtle of Peter, nor that of James, or Jude, with ſom others, were approv'd as Canonical; and yet they were afterwards receiv'd by the whole Church. Wherefore then may not we as well at this time eſtabliſh

ſtabliſh the Epiſtles of CLEMENS and BARNABAS, if they be undoubtedly theirs, which I ſhall be perſuaded their Patrons believe, when they quote 'em as Scripture, and then I know where to have them, and how to deal with 'em. But of this enough.

I SAID above, that by the ſpurious Pieces I meant only a great part of the Books which are recited in the Catalogue; for others of 'em do not ſeem to deſerve ſo mean a Rank: and I am ſo far from rejecting all thoſe Books of the New Teſtament which we now receive, that I am rather ſolicitous leſt, as in the dark Ages of Popery, thoſe we commonly call Apochryphal Books, were added to the Bible, ſo at the ſame time, and in as ignorant Ages before, ſeveral others might be taken away, for not ſuiting all the Opinions of the ſtrongeſt Party. Nor is it unworthy obſervation, that moſt of theſe Books are condemn'd by the Decree

of Pope GELASIUS. How many true and ſpurious Goſpels or Hiſtories of CHRIST were extant in St. LUKE's time, God knows; but that there were ſeveral may be evidently infer'd from his own Words, who tells
Luc. 1. 1, 2, 3. THEOPHILUS, that many had undertaken the ſame Work before him, and, as if he alluded to ſom ſpurious Relations, aſſures him, that he'll write nothing but what he receiv'd from ſuch as had a perfect knowledg of thoſe Matters from the beginning. That there ſhould be firſt and laſt, but juſt the number of Four, I never heard of any that went about to demonſtrat, except IRENÆUS the fam'd Succeſſor of the Apoſtles; and he poſitively * af-

* Firma & vera eſt noſtra de iſtis oſtentio; Neque autem plura numero quam hæc ſunt, neque rurſus, pauciora capit eſſe Evangelia. Quoniam enim quatuor regiones mundi ſunt in quo ſumus, & quatuor principales Spiritus, & diſſeminata eſt Eccleſia ſuper omnem terram; columna autem & firmamentum Eccleſiæ eſt Evangelium & ſpiritus vitæ; conſequens eſt quatuor habere eam columnas undique flantes incorruptibilitatem & vivificantes homines.—His igitur ſic ſe habentibus vani omnes & indocti, & inſuper audaces, qui fruſtrantur ſpeciem Evangelii, & vel plures quam dictæ ſunt, vel rurſus pauciores inferant perſonas Evangelii. *Adverſus Hæreſ.* l. 3. 11.

firms,

firms, that there cannot be more, nor fewer than Four Goſpels: 'For, ſays he, 'there be Four Regions of 'this World wherein we live, with 'Four principal Winds, and the 'Church is ſpread over all the 'Earth: But the Support and 'Foundation of the Church is the 'Goſpel, and the Spirit of Life: 'Therefore it muſt follow, that it has 'Four Pillars, blowing Incorruptibi-'lity on all ſides, and giving Life 'to Men. Then he corroborats his Argument from the Four Cherubims, and the Four Faces in Ezekiel's Viſion, to wit, of a Lyon, an Ox, a Man, and an Eagle; which is the Reaſon, by the way, why the Four Evangeliſts are painted with theſe Emblems in the Maſs-Book and in our Common Pray'r-Book. So he concludes at laſt, That 'they are all vain, unlearn'd, and im-'pudent, who after this would aſſert, 'that there were more or fewer than '4 Goſpels. Where we may obſerve,

Ezek. 6. 6, 10.

that Mr. Blackhall has the Warrant of an ancient Father for giving hard Names to ſuch as contemn precarious Reaſoning: And indeed it is but too manifeſt to be deny'd, that no Order of Men have more violated the Rules of Decency and Civility in their Writings, than thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it is to teach others Moderation, Patience, and Forgiveneſs; nor was there ever any Cauſe more defended by the Dint of Calumny than that of Religion, which leaſt needed it of any other.

SEVERAL of theſe Books whereof I now treat, are quoted to prove important Points of the Chriſtian Religion by the moſt celebrated Fathers, as of equal Authority with thoſe we now receive; and the Teſtimony of theſe Fathers was the principal Reaſon of eſtabliſhing theſe in our preſent Cannon, and is ſtill alledg'd to that purpoſe by all that write in defence of the Scriptures.

tures. Of ſo much weight is this Teſtimony, that Eusebius * rejects the Acts, Goſpel, Preaching, and Revelation of Peter from being Authentic, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe no Ancient or Modern Writer (ſays he) has quoted Proofs out of them. But herein Eusebius was miſtaken; for the contrary appears by the Teſtimonies markt in the Catalogue, and which any body may compare with the Originals. In another place he † ſays, That the Goſpels of Peter, Thomas, Matthies, and ſuch like, with the Acts of Andrew, John, and the other Apoſtles are ſpurious, becauſe no Eccleſiaſtic Writer from

* Τὸπ τῶν ἐπικεκριμένων αὐτῷ πράξεων, καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον, πάντες ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ κήρυγμα, καὶ ἀποκάλυψιν, οὐδεὶς ἐν καθολικοῖς ἡμῶν πεφιλοτίμηται· ἔτι μήτε ἀρχαίων μήτε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεχρήσατο μαρτυρίας. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 3.

† Ἡτις ὡς Πέτρου, καὶ Θωμᾶ, καὶ Ματθίου, καὶ εἴ τινων ποτὲ τούτοις ἄλλων ἐστὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια πεπλασμένα· ὡς Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων πράξεις, ἅτινά τις ἐν ὅλοις οὐδαμῶς ἐν τῷ ἑρμαίῳ τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τις ἀνὴρ εἰς μεμιμῆσθαι ἀξιώσειεν. *Ibid. c.* 25.

the time of the Apoſtles down to his own, has vouchſaf'd to quote them, which is abſolutely falſe of ſom, as we have already ſhewn. So that Mr. Blackhall is not the only Man, I find, who makes his own Reading the Meaſure of all Truth; and a Thouſand to One but now he juſtifies this Practice, ſince he can prove it from Antiquity, and he has got the Authority of ſo great a Father on his ſide. Had Erasmus found any of thoſe Pieces cited by the precedent Orthodox Writers, he would have own'd them as the genuin Productions of the Apoſtles, and admitted them (as we ſay) into the Canon; but having met no ſuch Citations, he preſently concluded there were none, which made him reject thoſe Books: And, I ſay, what I have already demonſtrated, that Proofs were quoted out of ſom of 'em long before, ſo that they might ſtill belong to the Canon for all

Erasmus. TO

TO theſe Conſiderations two Objections may perhaps be made. Firſt, It is unlikely, they'll ſay, that Eusebius ſhould not have read the Ancients; nay, that the contrary appears by his many Citations out of them; and that conſequently thoſe Works of the Fathers, which we have now in our Hands, are not the ſame which were read in his time, or that at leaſt they are ſtrangely adulterated, and full of Interpolations. With all my Heart: But then let us not be urg'd by their Authority in other Points no more than in this, ſince in one thing they may as well be alter'd and corrupted as in another; and indeed, by a common Rule of Equity (being found chang'd in ſom places) they ought to be ſo reputed in all the reſt, till the contrary be evidently prov'd.

THE ſecond Objection is, That altho' theſe Pieces have bin acknowledg'd to be the Writings

of thoſe Apoſtles whoſe Names they bear, at certain times, and in ſom Churches, yet they were expreſly rejected by others. To this I anſwer, That there is not one ſingle Book in the New Teſtament which was not refus'd by ſom of the Ancients as unjuſtly father'd upon the Apoſtles, and really forg'd by their Adverſaries; which as no body thinks it now a good Reaſon to diſapprove them, ſo I ſee not how it ſhould any more conclude againſt my Opinion. But becauſe the various Sects of thoſe early Days did, like us, condemn one another for damnable Hereties; and the admitting or refuſing, the framing or corrupting of certain Books, were ſom of the Crimes which were mutually imputed, I ſhall now inſiſt only on the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, that of JAMES, the ſecond of PETER, the ſecond and third of JOHN, the Epiſtle of

of JUDE, and the Revelation. Theſe ſeven Pieces were a long time plainly doubted by the * Ancients, particularly by thoſe whom we eſteem the ſoundeſt part; and yet they are receiv'd, (not without convincing Arguments) by the Moderns. Now, I ſay, by more than a Parity of Reaſon, that the Preaching and Revelation of PETER (for Example) were receiv'd by the Ancients, and ought not therefore to be rejected by the Moderns, if the Approbation of the Fathers be a proper Recommendation of any Books.

* Let the third and twenty firſt Chapters of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Euſebius* be conſulted, with what St. *Jerome* has written on the ſame Subject.

THE Council of *Laodicea*, which was held about three hundred and ſixty Years after CHRIST, and is the firſt Aſſembly wherein the Canon of Scripture was eſtabliſht, could not among ſo great a va-

variety of Books as were then abroad in the World, certainly determin which were the true Monuments of the Apoſtles, but either by a particular Revelation from Heaven, or by crediting the Teſtimony of their Anceſtors, which was always better preſerv'd and convey'd by Writing than by Oral Tradition, the moſt uncertain Rule in Nature, witneſs the monſtrous Fables of Papiſts, Rabbins, Turks, and the Eaſtern Nations both Chriſtians and Idolaters. But of any extraordinary Revelation made to this Council we hear not a Word; and for the Books I defend, I have the ſame Teſtimony which is uſually alledg'd in the behalf of others. However, I ſhall not be too haſty to make a final Deciſion of this Matter with my ſelf, leaſt I incur the dreadful Curſe which the Author of the Revelation pronounces againſt ſuch as ſhall add or take

Rev. 22. 18, 19.

take away from that Book. Let Mr. BLACKHALL be aſſur'd, that if he muſt needs have me to be a Heretic I am not unteachable, tho' I would not have it reputed Obſtinacy if I ſhould not ſurrender without ſatisfactory Reaſons. Inſtead therefore of cenſuring and calumniating (which ought not to be reckon'd Virtues in any Order of Men, and leaſt of all in the Miniſters of the Goſpel) let ſuch as are better enlighten'd endeavor to extricat the Erroneous out of theſe or the like Difficulties, that they may be able to diſtinguiſh truly, and that in ſuch an extraordinary number of Books, all pretending equally to a Divine Origin, they may have ſom infallible Marks of diſcerning the proper Rule, leſt they unhappily miſtake the falſe one for the true.

HOW neceſſary it is to have the Canon of Scripture ſet in its due light, we may learn from the an-

Ancient as well as our Modern Unbelievers. Celsus * exclaims againſt the too great Liberty which the Chriſtians (as if they were drunk, ſays he) took of changing the firſt writing of the Goſpel three, or four, or more times, that ſo they might deny whatever was urg'd againſt 'em as retracted before. Nay, as low down as St. Augustin's time, was there not a very conſiderable Sect of the Chriſtians themſelves, I mean the *Manichæans*, who ſhewed other Scriptures, and deny'd the Genuinneſs of the whole New Teſtament. One of theſe call'd Faustus, after ſhewing that his Adverſaries diſapprov'd of ſeveral things in the Old Teſtament, thus purſues his

* Τίνας τῶν πιστευόντων φήσιν (Κέλσος) ὡς ἐκ μιᾶς ἡκιστα πεισεις τὸ ἐφεξῆς αἰ αὐτὸς, μεταχαράττειν ἐκ τῶν πρώτης γραφῆς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τρίτῃ, ἢ τετάρτῃ, ἢ πολλαχῇ ἢ μεταπλάττειν τὸ ἔγκλημα πρὸς τὰς ἐλέγχους ἀρκεῖσθαι. Origen. l. 2. contra Celſ.

† Ar-

† Argument: 'You think, ſays he, 'that of all Books in the World, 'the Teſtament of the Son only could 'not be corrupted, that it alone 'contains nothing which ought to 'be diſallow'd; eſpecially when it 'appears, that it was neither written 'by himſelf nor his Apoſtles, but 'a long time after by certain ob-'ſcure Perſons, who, leſt no Cre-'dit ſhould be given to the Sto-'ries they told of what they could 'not know, did prefix to their 'Writings partly the Names of 'the Apoſtles, and partly of thoſe 'who ſucceeded the Apoſtles; af-'firming that what they wrote 'themſelves was written by theſe:

† Solius filii putatis teſtamentum non potuiſſe corrumpi; ſolum non habere aliquid quod in ſe debeat improbari: præſertim quod nec ab ipſo ſcriptum conſtat, nec ab ejus apoſtolis: ſed longo poſt tempore à quibuſdam incerti nominis viris, qui, neſcio non habentibus fidem ſcribentibus quæ neſciebant, partim Apoſtolorum nomina, partim eorum qui Apoſtolos ſecuti fuerunt, Scriptorum ſuorum frontibus indiderunt, affeverantes ſecun-

Where-

'Wherein they ſeem to me (con-
'tinues he) to have bin the more
'hainouſly injurious to the Diſci-
'ples of Chriſt, by attributing
'to them what they wrote them-
'ſelves ſo diſſonant and repugnant;
'and that they pretended to write
'thoſe Goſpels under their Names,
'which are ſo full of Miſtakes, of
'contradictory Relations and Opi-
'nions, that they are neither cohe-
'rent with themſelves, nor conſi-
'ſtent with one another. What is
'this therefore but to throw a
'Calumny on good Men, and to fix
'the Accuſation of Diſcord on the
'Unanimous Society of CHRIST's
'Diſciples? The ſame FAUSTUS

dum eos ſe ſcripſiſſe quæ ſe ipſerint. Quo magis mihi videntur injuria gravi affeciſſe diſcipulos Chriſti, quia quæ diſſona iidem & repugnantia ſibi ſcriberent, ea referrent ad ipſos, & ſecundum eos hæc ſcribere ſe promitterentur Evangelia, quæ tantis ſint referta erroribus, tantis contrarietatibus narrationum ſimul ac ſententiarum, ut nec ſibi prorſus, nec inter ſe conveniant. Quid ergo aliud eſt quam calumniari bonos, & Chriſti Diſcipulorum concordem cœtum in crimen devocare diſcordiæ. *Auguſtin. contra Fauſt.* l. 32. c. 2.

a lit-

a little after accuſes his Adverſaries, who had Power enough to be counted Orthodox, in theſe expreſs Words: * 'Many things 'were foiſted by your Anceſtors into the Scriptures of our Lord, 'which, tho' mark'd with his Name, 'agree not with his Faith. And no 'wonder, ſince, as thoſe of our 'Party have already frequently 'prov'd, theſe things were neither 'written by himſelf nor his Apoſtles: but ſeveral Matters after 'their Deceaſe were pick'd up 'from Stories and flying Reports by I know not what Set 'of Half-*Jews*; and theſe not agreeing among themſelves, who

* Multa à majoribus veſtris eloquiis Domini noſtri inſerta verba ſunt, quæ nomine ſignata ipſius cum ejus fide non congruunt; præſertim quia, ut jam ſæpe probatum à nobis eſt, nec ab ipſo hæc ſunt, nec ab ejus Apoſtolis ſcripta: ſed multa poſt eorum aſſumtionem à neſcio quibus, & ipſis inter ſe non concordantibus Semijudæis, per famas opinionéſque compoſita ſunt.

De-

'nevertheleſs publiſhing all theſe 'Particulars under the Names of 'the Apoſtles of the Lord, or of 'thoſe that ſucceeded them, have 'feign'd their own Lyes and Errors 'to be written according to them.

Since therefore the *Manichæans* rejected the whole New Teſtament, ſince the *Ebionites* or *Nazarens*, (who were the oldeſt Chriſtians) had a different Copy of St. MATTHEW's Goſpel, and the *Marcionites*, had a very different one of St. LUKE's; ſince St. JOHN's was attributed to CERINTHUS, all the Epiſtles of St. PAUL were deny'd by ſom, a different Copy of 'em ſhewn by others; and that the ſeven Pieces we mention'd before, were rejected a long time by all Chriſtians, al-

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Qui tamen omnia eadem in Apoſtolorum Domini conferentes nomina, vel eorum qui ſecuti Apoſtolos viderentur, errores ac mendacia ſua ſecundum eos ſcripſiſſe mentiti ſunt. Auguſtin. ibid. l. 33. c. 3.

moſt

moſt with univerſal Conſent, it had much more become Mr. Blackhall's Profeſſion to appear better acquainted with theſe things, and commendably to ſpend his time in preventing the Miſchievous Inferences which Heretics may draw from hence, or to remove the Scruples of doubting but ſincere Chriſtians, than ſo publicly to vent his Malice againſt a Man that never injur'd him, and who appears ſo little to deſerve the Imputation of Incredulity, that his Fault (if it may be) does rather conſiſt in believing more Scripture than his Adverſaries.

WHAT need had Mr Blackhall to inform that Auguſt Aſſembly how little he knew of the Hiſtory of the Canon? A Hiſtory of the greateſt Importance, as well as containing the moſt curious Enquiries; and without an exact Knowledge whereof it is not conceivable that any Man can be fit

to convince Gainſayers, or to demonſtrat the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, which, I ſuppoſe he will not think fit to deny is one of the principal Duties of a Miniſter. How little ſoever he knew before, he cannot be ignorant any longer that there were a Multitude of other Pieces attributed to CHRIST and his Apoſtles, beſides thoſe now receiv'd by the whole Chriſtian Church. He might at his Leiſure have learnt ſo much from the Fathers, or at leaſt from others that had ſtudy'd 'em; ſuch as RIVET, Father SIMON, DU PIN, ITTIGIUS, Dr. CAVE, ERNESTUS GRABIUS who has lately publiſh'd ſom of thoſe Fragments at *Oxford*, and ſeveral others; tho' he has occaſion'd me to preſent him now with a much larger Catalogue than was publiſh'd by any of theſe. I could add more not there mentioned, and other Authorities for thoſe which are there:

there: but I have already don more than enough to prove a thing, whereof, till the laſt thirtieth of *January*, I thought few Laymen wholly ignorant, much leſs any one of the Clergy. Indeed I never thought the Hiſtory of our Canon ſo impartially handled, or ſo fully clear'd as a Matter of ſuch great Importance deſerves; and I deſpair of Mr. BLACKHALL's giving the World any Satisfaction in their Doubts concerning it. But I hope ſom abler Perſon of his Order may particularly write on this Subject; which, if I ſee neglected alſo by them, I ſhall think it no Intruſion on their Office to undertake it my ſelf: and if I ever write it, I promiſe it ſhall be the faireſt Hiſtory, and the only one of that kind that ever appear'd; For I ſhall lay all the Matters of Fact together in their natural Order, without making the leaſt Remark of my own, or giving it a Color in

favor of any Sect or Opinion, leaving all the World to judge for themſelves, and to build what they pleaſe with thoſe Materials I ſhall furniſh 'em.

I CONCLUDE this Point with one Obſervation, to ſhew with what Malice I am treated by ſome People, while others paſs with them for the moſt Orthodox Men in the World, who have ſaid infinitly more in plain and direct Words, than they could infer with all their Art from a few Expreſſions of mine, and which the moſt ignorant of my Adverſaries could make no more than Inſinuation at the worſt. I talkt of ſpurious Pieces, and have now as well ſhewn what thoſe Pieces were, as put a Diſtinction between 'em, and ſuch as I thought genuin. But let us hear what a Perſon ſays, who, were he as much given to the World as many of his Friends, would make a more conſiderable Figure, conſidering his great Ser-

vices

vices to the National Church, and the Reſpect he reciprocally receives from it; I mean the famous Dodwell, who alone, tho' a Layman, underſtands as much of Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory as the Divines of all Churches put together. His Words are theſe: * 'The Canonical Writings lay conceal'd in 'the Coffers of privat Churches or 'Perſons, till the later Times of 'Trajan; or rather perhaps of A'drian; ſo that they could not 'com to the Knowledg of the 'whole Church. For if they had 'bin publiſh'd, they wou'd have 'bin overwhelm'd under ſuch a 'Multitude as were then of Apo'cryphal and Suppoſititious Books, 'that a new Examination and a

* Latitabant uſque ad recentiora illa, ſeu Trajani, ſeu etiam fortaſſe Hadriani tempora, in privatarum eccleſiarum, ſeu etiam hominum Scriniis ſcripta illa Canonica, nè ad Eccleſiæ Catholicæ notitiam pervenirent. Aut ſi in publicum fortaſſe prodiiſſent, adhuc tamen tanta Scriptorum Apocryphorum, Pſeudepigraphorumque

'new Teſtimony would be neceſ-
'ſary to diſtinguiſh 'em from theſe
'falſe ones. And it is from this
'New Teſtimony (whereby the ge-
'nuin Writings of the Apoſtles
'were diſtinguiſh'd from the ſpuri-
'ous Pieces which went under their
'Names) that depends all the Au-
'thority which the truly Apoſtolic
'Writings have formerly obtain'd,
'or which they have at preſent in
'the Catholic Church. But this
'freſh Atteſtation of the Canon is
'ſubject to the ſame Inconvenien-
'cies with thoſe Traditions of
'the Ancient Perſons that I defend,
'and whom IRENÆUS both heard

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turba obruebantur, ut ab iis internoſci non poſſent, quin novo opus eſſet examine, novoque Teſtimonio. Et ab illo novo teſtimonio, quo factum eſt ut ab Apocryphis falſoque Apoſtolorum nomine inſignitis Scripta eorum genuina diſtinguerentur, pendet omnis illa quam deinceps obtinebant, & quam hodieque obtinent in Eccleſia Catholica Scripta vera Apoſtolica, Autoritas. Atqui recentiori illi Canonis atteſtatio iiſdem erat incommodis obnoxia, quibus & noſtræ ſenum, quos vidit Irenæus audivitque, Tradi-

and

'and ſaw: for it is equally diſtant
'from the Original, and could not
'be made, except by ſuch only as
'had reacht thoſe remote Times.
'But 'tis very certain, that before
'the Period I mention'd of TRA-
'JAN's time, the Canon of the Sacred
'Books was not yet fixt, nor any
'certain number of Books re-
'ceiv'd in the Catholic Church,
'whoſe Authority muſt ever after
'ſerve to determin Matters of
'Faith; neither were the ſpurious
'Pieces of Heretics yet rejected,
'nor were the faithful admoniſht
'to beware of them for the future.
'Likewiſe the true Writings of the

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tiones; erat enim illa tanto intervallo ab origine remota, nec plurium eſſe poterat quam eorum qui etiam remotiora illa tempora attigerant. Atqui certè ante illam Epocham, quam dixi Trajani, nondum conſtitutus eſt librorum Sacrorum Canon, nec receptus aliquis in Eccleſia Catholica librorum certus numerus, quos deinde adhibere oporteret in ſacris fidei cauſis dijudicandis, nec rejecti Hæreticorum Pſeudepigraphi, monitive fideles, ut ab eorum uſu deinde caverent. Sic autem vera Apoſtolorum Scripta cum

'Apoſtles us'd to be ſo bound up in
'one Volum with the Apocryphal,
'that it was not manifeſt by any
'Mark or public Cenſure of the
'Church, which of 'em ſhould be
'prefer'd to the other. We have at
'this Day certain moſt authentic
'Eccleſiaſtic Writers of thoſe times,
'as Clemens Romanus, Barnabas,
'Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycar-
'pus, who wrote in this ſame Or-
'der wherein I have nam'd 'em,
'and after all the other Writers
'of the New Teſtament, except
'Jude and the two Johns. But in
'Hermas you ſhall not meet with
'one Paſſage, or any mention of

Apocryphis in iiſdem Voluminibus compingi ſolebant, ut nulla prorſus nota aut cenſura Eccleſiæ publica conſtaret quæ quibus eſſent anteferenda. Habemus hodieque horum temporum Scriptores Eccleſiaſticos luculentiſſimos Clementem Romanum, Barnabam, Hermam, Ignatium, Polycarpum, qui hoc nimirum ſcripſerunt, quo illos nominavi ordine, omnes reliquis novi Teſtamenti Scriptis (exceptis Judæ, & Joannis utriuſque) juniores. At novi Teſtamenti in Herma ne quidem unum locum in-

'the

'the New Teſtament: Nor in all 'the reſt is any one of the Evange- 'liſts call'd by his own Name. 'And if ſomtimes they cite any 'Paſſages like thoſe we read in our 'Goſpels, yet you'll find 'em ſo 'much chang'd, and for the moſt 'part ſo interpolated, that it can- 'not be known whether they pro- 'duc'd them out of ours, or ſom 'Apocryphal Goſpels: nay, they 'ſomtimes cite Paſſages, which it 'is moſt certain are not in the pre- 'ſent Goſpels. From hence there- 'fore it is evident, that no dif- 'ference was yet put by the 'Church between the Apochryphal

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veneris. Apud reliquos nè unum quidem Evangeliſtam nomine ſuo compellatum. Et ſi quos locos forè proferant quibus ſimilia in noſtris leguntur Evangeliis; ita tamen illos mutatos ut plurimum interpolatoſque reperies, ut ſciri nequeat an è noſtris illos, an ex aliis produxerint Apocryphis Evangeliis. Sed & Apocrypha adhibent iidem aliquoties, quæ certum eſt in hodiernis non habari Evangeliis. Ut inde conflet nullum adhuc inter Apocryphos

'and

'and Canonical Books of the 'New Teſtament; eſpecially if it 'be conſider'd, that they paſs no 'Cenſure on the Apochryphal, nor 'leave any Mark whereby the Rea-'der might diſcern that they at-'tributed leſs Authority to the 'ſpurious than to the genuin Go-'ſpels: from whence it may 'reaſonably be ſuſpected, that if 'they cite ſomtimes any Paſſages 'conformable to ours, it was not 'don thro' any certain deſign, as if 'dubious things were to be con-'firm'd only by the Canonical 'Books; ſo as it is very poſſible

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Canonicóſque novi Teſtamenti libros conſtitutum eſſe ab Eccleſia diſcrimen, præſertim ſi & illa quoque accedat obſervatio quod cenſuram nullam Apocryphis adjungant; ſed nec aliam aliquam notam unde poſſit lector colligere minus illos Apocryphis tribuiſſe, quam veris tribuerint Evangeliis. Inde prona eſt ſuſpicio ſiqua fortè loca produxerint cum noſtris conſentientia, nullo tamen certo id factum eſſe conſilio, quo conſtitutum fuerat res dubias è Canonicis eſſe confirmandas; fieríque adeo poſſe ut & illa

'that

'that both thoſe and the like Paſ-
'ſages may have bin borrow'd
'from other Goſpels beſides theſe
'we now have. But what need I
'mention Books that were not Ca-
'nonical? when indeed it does not
'appear from thoſe of our Canoni-
'cal Books which were laſt written,
'that the Church knew any thing
'of the Goſpels, or that Clergy-
'men themſelves made a common
'uſe of 'em. The Writers of
'thoſe times do not chequer their
'Works with Texts of the New
'Teſtament, which yet is the Cu-
'ſtom of the Moderns, and was
'alſo theirs in ſuch Books as they

ſimilia ex aliis tamen, quam quæ habemus, depromta fuerint Evangeliis. Sed quid ego libros memoremini è Canonicos? Nè quidem è Canonicis ipſis recentioribus conſtat Eccleſiæ innotuiſſe Evangelia, atque Eccleſiaſticis in uſu fuiſſe vulgari. Non ſolent illius ævi Scriptores novi Teſtamenti locis Scripta ſua velut opere textili to ornare, qui tamen recentiorum mos eſt, qui & ſuus erat in illis quas agnoſcebant ipſi

'ac-

'acknowledg'd for Scripture; for
'they moſt frequently cite the
'Books of the Old Teſtament,
'and would doubtleſs have don
'ſo by thoſe of the New, if they
'had then bin receiv'd as Cano-
'nical. St. PAUL cites a Saying of
Act. 20. 35. 'our Lord in the Acts of the A-
'poſtles; which, if he had it out
'of any Writing, was not cer-
'tainly out of theſe we now have.
'The Goſpels continu'd ſo con-
'ceal'd in thoſe Corners of the
'World where they were written,
'that the latter Evangeliſts knew no-
'thing of what the Precedent wrote:
'Otherwiſe there had not bin ſo

Scripturis: Veteris enim Teſtamenti libros proferunt ſæpiſſimè, prolum i proculdubio & novi Teſtamenti Scripta, ſi & illa fuiſſent in Canonem recepta. Effatum Domini noſtri profert Sanctus Paulus, *Act.* 20. 35. Illud ſi e Scripto aliquo produxit, non certè ex [illegible], quod habemus, Evangelio. Sic latuerant in illis terrarum angulis, in quibus Scripta fuerant, Evangelia, ut ne quidem reſciverint recentiores Evangelistæ quid ſcripſiſſent de iiſdem rebus antiquiores. Aliter foret

Hæc-

'many apparent Contradictions, 'which, almoſt ſince the firſt Con-'ſtitution of the Canon, have ex-'ercis'd the Wits of learned Men. 'Surely if St. Luke had ſeen that 'Genealogy of our Lord which is 'in St. Matthew, he would not 'himſelf have produc'd one whol-'ly different from the other, 'without giving the leaſt Reaſon 'for this Diverſity. And when in 'the Preface to his Goſpel he tells 'the occaſion of his Writing; 'which is, that he undertook it, 'being furniſht with the Relati-'ons of ſuch as were Eye-witneſ-'ſes of what he writes, he plainly

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ne tot eſſent ἀναντιρρήτως, quæ ferè à prima uſque Canonis conſtitutione Eruditorum Hominum ingenia exercuerint. Certè Sanctus Lucas ſi Genealogiam illam Domini in Matthæo vidiſſet, non aliam ipſe, nihilque ſe è habentem communè, produxiſſet, nè quidem minima conſilii tam diverſi edita ratione. Et cum novæ Scriptionis edit in præfatione cauſam, quod ipſe αὐτοπτῶν narrationibus adjutus eam fuerit aggreſſus, id planè innuit deſtitutos hoc ſubſidio fuiſſe viſorum

'in-

'intimats, that the Authors of 'the Goſpels which he had ſeen, 'were deſtitute of this Help: So 'that neither having ſeen them-'ſelves what they relate, nor 'with any Care or Diligence 'conſulted ſuch as had ſeen them, 'their Credit was therefore dubi-'ous and ſuſpected; whence it 'muſt neceſſarily follow, that the 'Writers of thoſe Goſpels, which 'LUKE had ſeen, were not at all 'the ſame with our preſent Evan-'geliſts. So far Mr. DODWELL; and (excepting the Genuinneſs of the Epiſtles of CLEMENS, BARNABAS, and the reſt; for they are inconteſtably ancient) I agree with him that the Matters of Fact are

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à ſe Evangeliorum auctores, ita nimirum non fuiſſe ipſos αὐτόπτας ut nè quidem αὐτόπτας cum cura aliqua & ſe fulcare conſuluerint, vacillare proinde meritó que dubiam eorum fuiſſe fidem; ut planè alios fuiſſe neceſſe ſit Evangelicæ Hiſtoriæ Scritores a Luca viſos, à noſtris, quos habemus, Evangeliſtis. *Diſſert.* 1. in *Iren.* §§. 38, 39.

all

all true; tho' I am far from drawing the ſame Inference from 'em as he has don, that there is an equal Proof for Epiſcopacy as for the Canon of Scripture, which is the Teſtimony of the Fathers of the Second and Third Centuries; and that the Diſciplin was better known, and preſerv'd than the Doctrin of the Apoſtles. Whoever has an Inclination to write on this Subject is furniſht from this Paſſage with a great many curious Diſquiſitions, wherein to ſhew his Penetration and Judgment, as how the immediat Succeſſors and Diſciples of the Apoſtles could ſo groſsly confound the genuin Writings of their Maſters, with ſuch as were falſly attributed to them; or ſince they were in the dark about theſe Matters ſo early, how came ſuch as follow'd 'em by a better Light; why all thoſe Books which are cited by CLEMENS and the reſt ſhould not be counted equally

qually Authentic; and what ſtreſs ſhould be laid on the Teſtimony of thoſe Fathers, who not only contradict one another, but are often inconſiſtent with themſelves in their Relations of the very ſame Facts; with a great many other Difficulties, which deſerve a clear reſolution from any capable Perſon, tho' none may ſafely propoſe 'em but Mr. Dodwell, who I heartily wiſh were always as free and unprejudic'd as he is really learned.

THUS have I defended and explain'd my ſelf againſt Mr. Blachall's Accuſation: nor do I queſtion but I have given entire Satisfaction to all impartial Men, and lovers of Truth. But there's another ſort of People whom I deſpair of ever contenting. Theſe never fail of finding in the Writings of their Adverſary, not what is there, but what they have a mind ſhould be ſo, to repreſent him

him odious or dangerous. All the Proteſtations in the World can ſignifie nothing with them; nor is it more ſafe than otherwiſe to prove the contrary of what is laid to one's Charge; for they are ſagacious enough to diſcover the hidden Poyſon of every Word, and will be ſure to give loud warning of the Danger, to ſhew where the Snake lies in the Graſs, and to tell what's in the Belly of the *Trojan* Horſe. But I ſhall not be in great pain how ſuch People apprehend me, if I have the Happineſs to pleaſe the moderat and diſcerning part of Mankind.

The Complete

HISTORY

OF

Icon Basilike.

MR. Blackhall, who, by a public Provocation, would needs engage me in a Controverſie about ſpurious Books, has not confin'd me to expoſe the Impoſtures of Antiquity alone, tho' it be pretty plain, that this is Employment enough for one body; but he likewiſe accuſes me of not being more favorable to a Modern *Saint*, as he is pleas'd to ſtile King Charles the Firſt. 'That excellent Book, 'which, he ſays, was compos'd by 'himſelf in the time of his Di'ſtreſſes, will, he ſuppoſes, be an 'ever-

'everlaſting Evidence of his profiting under his Sufferings to after Ages, notwithſtanding the Endeavors that have bin formerly us'd to prove it ſpurious, and the Confidence of a late Writer (the Author of Milton's Life) aſſerting it to be ſo, without either producing any new Evidence for the Proof of his Aſſertion; or offering one Word in anſwer to thoſe juſt and rational Exceptions that had bin made before to thoſe only Teſtimonies which he inſiſts upon to prove it a Forgery; or making any Exceptions to thoſe later Evidences that have bin produc'd to prove it Authentic. Whether this Book was compos'd by himſelf is our Buſineſs at preſent to enquire, and ſhall be quickly determin'd: for as to his improving by his Sufferings I will not deny what I hope, and Charity commands me to believe.

The Reaſon why I produc'd no new Evidence to prove the ſpuriouſneſs of **Icon Baſilike* was, becauſe I thought the old ones ſufficient. I vouchſaf'd no Anſwer to the Exceptions made to thoſe Teſtimonies, becauſe I neither thought 'em juſt nor reaſonable. And I would not diſcuſs the Facts that have bin ſince alledg'd to prove the Book Authentic, becauſe I intended not before to write a juſt Diſſertation on this Subject, and ſo was not oblig'd to mention all the Particulars relating to it. If Mr. BLACKHALL does not think this Anſwer ſatisfactory, I ſhall make amends now for all former Omiſſions; and, being very deſirous to content him, will follow that ſame Method he was pleas'd to chalk me out in his Sermon.

IN the firſt place therefore, to make this Diſcourſe complete, and that the Evidence of the ſeveral Parts whereof it conſiſts, may the better

better appear by laying 'em all together, I ſhall here inſert the Abſtract which I made of Dr. WALKER's Book in MILTON's Life, with ANGLESEY's *Memorandum*, and the other Teſtimonies; I ſhall ſecondly give particular Anſwers to the Exceptions that have bin made to all theſe Pieces: And laſtly, ſhew the invalidity of the Facts which are alledg'd to prove King CHARLES the Firſt was the true Author of *Icon Baſilike*. I have not undertaken this Work out of Affection or Oppoſition to any Party, nor to reflect on the Memory of that unfortunat Prince, whoſe officious Friends are much more concern'd; but to clear my ſelf from a public Charge, and to diſcover a pious Fraud, which deſerves not to be exemted from Cenſure for being the Contrivance of a Modern Biſhop, no more than thoſe of the ancient Fathers of the Church.

THE Relation of the whole Fact in MILTON's Life is after this manner. 'In the Year 1686, Mr. 'MILLINGTON hap'ning to ſell the 'late Lord ANGLESEY's Library by 'Auction, put up an *Ikon Baſilike*; 'and a few bidding very low for it, 'he had leiſure to turn over the 'Leaves, when to his great Sur-'prize he perceiv'd written with 'the ſame noble Lord's own 'Hand, the following *Memoran-'dum.*

KING CHARLES *the Second, and the Duke of* York, *did both (in the laſt Seſſions of Parliament, 1675. when I ſhew'd them in the Lords Houſe the written Copy of this Book, wherein are ſom Corrections and Alterations written with the late King*

King CHARLES *the Firſt's own Hand*) *aſſure me, that this was none of the ſaid King's compiling, but made by Dr.* GAUDEN *Biſhop of* Exeter; *which I here inſert for the undeceiving of others in this point, by atteſting ſo much under my own Hand.*

ANGLESEY.

'This occaſion'd the World to 'talk; and ſeveral knowing the 'Relation which the late Dr. An'THONY WALKER, an *Eſſex* Divine, 'had to Biſhop GAUDEN, they in'quir'd of him what he knew con'cerning this Subject, which he 'then verbally communicated to 'them: But being afterwards 'highly provok'd by Dr. HOLLINGS-

'worth's harſh and injurious Re-
'flections, he was oblig'd in his
'own Defence to print an Ac-
'count of that Book, wherein are
'ſufficient Anſwers to all the Scru-
'ples or Objections that can be
'made, and whereof I here in-
'ſert an exact Epitome. He tells
'us in the firſt place, that Dr.
'Gauden was pleas'd to acquaint
'him with the whole Deſign, and
'ſhew'd him the Heads of divers
'Chapters, with ſom others that
'were quite finiſh'd: and that Dr.
'Gauden asking his Opinion of the
'thing and he declaring his Diſ-
'ſatisfaction that the World ſhould
'be ſo impos'd upon, Gauden bid
'him look on the Title, which was
'*the King's Portraiture*; for that no
'Man is ſuppos'd to draw his
'own Picture. A very nice Evaſi-
'on! he further acquaints us,
'that ſom time after this, being
'both in *London*, and having din'd
'together, Dr. Gauden took him
'along

'along with him to Dr. Duppa the
'Biſhop of *Salisbury* (whom he
'made alſo privy to his Deſign)
'to fetch what Papers he had left
'before for his peruſal, or to
'ſhew him what he had ſince writ-
'ten: and that upon their return
'from that place, after Gauden
'and Duppa were a while in pri-
'vat together, the former told
'him the Biſhop of *Salisbury*
'wiſh'd he had thought upon two
'other Heads, the Ordinance a-
'gainſt the Common Pray'r Book,
'and the denying his Majeſty the
'Attendance of his Chaplains;
'but that Duppa deſir'd him to finiſh
'the reſt, and he would take upon
'him to write two Charters on
'thoſe Subjects, which accordingly
'ly he did. The reaſon, it ſeems,
'why Dr. Gauden himſelf would
'not perform this, was, firſt, that
'during the Troubles he had for-
'born the uſe of the Liturgy,
'which he did not extraordinarily

'ad-

'admire; and ſecondly, that he 'had never bin the King's Chap-'lain, whereas Dr. DUPPA was 'both his Chaplain, his Tutor, 'and a Biſhop, which made him 'more concern'd about theſe Par-'ticulars. Thirdly, Dr. WALKER 'informs us that Dr. GAUDEN told 'him he had ſent a Copy of *Icon Ba-ſilike* by the Marquiſs of *Hartford* 'to the King in the *Iſle of Wight*; 'where it was, we may be ſure, that 'he made thoſe Corrections and Al-'terations with his own Pen, men-'tion'd in my Lord ANGLESEY's '*Memorandum*: and which gave oc-'caſion to ſom then about him that 'had accidentally ſeen, or to whom 'he had ſhown the Book, to believe 'the whole was his own. Fourth-'ly, Dr. GAUDEN, after the Reſto-'ration, told Dr. WALKER, that the 'Duke of *York* knew of his being 'the real Author, and had own'd 'it to be a great Service; in con-'ſideration of which, it may be,

'the

'the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, tho' 'he was afterwards put off with 'that of *Worceſter* was promis'd 'him. And, notwithſtanding it 'was then a Secret, we now know 'that in expectation of this Tran-'ſlation, the great Houſe on *Clap-'ham* Common was built indeed 'in the Name of his Brother Sir 'DENYS, but really to be a Manſion-'houſe for the Biſhops of *Winche-'ſter*. Fifthly, Dr. WALKER, ſays, 'that Mr. GAUDEN the Doctor's 'Son, his Wife, himſelf, and Mr. 'GIFFORD who tranſcrib'd it, did 'believe it as firmly as any Fact 'don in the place where they 'were; and that in that Family 'they always ſpoke of it among 'themſelves (whether in Dr. GAU-'DEN's Preſence or Abſence) as un-'doubtedly written by him, which 'he never contradicted. We learn, 'Sixthly, that Dr. GAUDEN, after 'part of it was printed, gave to 'Dr. WALKER with his own Hand

'what

'what was laſt ſent to *London*; 'and after ſhewing him what it 'was, ſeal'd it, giving him cautio-'nary Directions how to deliver 'it, which he did on *Saturday* the '23d of *December*, 1648. for Mr. 'Royston the Printer, to Mr. Pea-'cock Brother to Dr. Gauden's 'Steward, who, after the Impreſ-'ſion was finiſh'd, gave him, for 'his Trouble, ſix Books, whereof 'he always kept one by him. To 'theſe Particulars Dr. Walker 'adds, that the Reaſon why the 'Covenant is more favorably men-'tion'd in *Ikon Baſilike*, than the 'King or any other of his Party 'would do, was becauſe Dr. Gau-'den himſelf had taken it: That 'in the Devotional part of this 'Book there occur ſeveral Ex-'preſſions which were habitual to 'Gauden in his Prayers, which al-'ways in privat and public were 'conceiv'd or extemporary; and 'that to his Knowledge it was

'Dr.

'Dr. Gauden, being beſt acquain-
'ted with the Beauty of his own
'Sayings, who made that Colle-
'ction of Sentences out of *Ikon*
'*Baſilike*, intitul'd, *Apophthegma-*
'*ta Caroliniana.* Theſe and ſom
'Obſervations about the ſame in-
'dividual Perſons variation of Stile
'on different Subjects, with the
'facility and frequency of perſo-
'nating others, may be futher
'conſider'd in Dr. Walkers Ori-
'ginal Account. In this conditi-
'on ſtood the Reputation of this
'Book, till the laſt and finiſhing
'diſcovery of the Impoſture was
'made after this manner. Mr.
'Arthur North, a Merchant now
'living on *Tower hill*, *London*, a
'Man of good Credit, and a Mem-
'ber of the Church of *England*,
'marry'd the Siſter of her that was
'Wife to the Doctor's Son,
'Charles Gauden, who dying, left
'ſom Papers with his Widow, a-
'mong which Mr. North, being

'con-

'concern'd about his Siſter in Law's 'Affairs, found a whole Bundle 'relating to *Ikon Baſilike*: Theſe 'Papers old Mrs. GAUDEN left to 'her darling Son JOHN, and he to 'his Brother CHARLES. There is 'firſt a Letter from Secretary 'NICHOLAS to Dr. GAUDEN. 2. The 'Copy of a Letter from Biſhop 'GAUDEN to Chancellor HYDE, where, 'among his other Deſerts, he pleads 'that what was don like a King, 'ſhould have a Kinglike Retributi-'on; and that his deſign in it was 'to comfort and incourage the 'King's Friends, to expoſe his E-'nemies, and to convert, *&c.* 'There is, 3. The Copy of a Let-'ter from the Biſhop to the Duke 'of *York*, wherin he ſtrongly urg-'es his Services. 4. A Letter 'under Chancellor HYDE's own 'Hand, dated the 13th of *March*, '1661. wherein he expreſſes his 'uneaſineſs under the Biſhop's im-'portunity, and excuſes his inabi-

'lity

'lity yet to ſerve him: but to-
'wards the Concluſion it contains
'theſe remarkable Words: *The*
'*Particular you mention has indeed*
'*bin imparted to me as a Secret; I*
'*am ſorry I ever knew it: and when*
'*it ceaſes to be a Secret, it will pleaſe*
'*none but Mr.* MILTON. There are
'other Papers in this Bundle, but
'particularly a long Narrative of
'Mrs. GAUDEN's own writing, irre-
'fragably ſhewing her Husband to
'be Author of *Ikon Baſilike.* It
'intirely confirms Dr. WALKER's
'Account, and contains moſt of
'the Facts we have hitherto rela-
'ted, with many other curious
'Circumſtances too long to be
'here inſerted, yet too extraordi-
'nary not to be known; wherfore
'I refer the Reader to the Origi-
'nal Paper, or to the faithful Ex-
'tract made out of it before ſe-
'veral learned and worthy Perſons,
'and which is printed in a Paper
'intitul'd, *Truth brought to Light.*

'Thus

'Thus came all the World to be 'convinc'd of this notorious Im-'poſture; which as it was dexte-'rouſly contriv'd, and moſt cun-'ningly improv'd by a Party 'whoſe Intereſt oblig'd 'em to 'keep the Secret, ſo it happen'd to 'be diſcover'd by very nice and 'unforeſeen Accidents. Had not 'Gauden bin diſappointed of *Win-'cheſter*, he had never pleaded his 'Merit in this Affair; nor would 'his Wife have written her Narra-'tive, had King Charles the 'Second beſtow'd one half Years 'Rent on her after her Husband's 'deceaſe; which, upon her Peti-'tion, and conſidering her nume-'rous Family, none could ima-'gin ſhould be refus'd. It was a 'ſlighter Accident that begot a 'a Confeſſion from two Kings, 'and Charles's own Sons. And I 'doubt if any other than one of 'Mr. Millington's great Curioſity, 'and no Bigotry, had the diſpo-

'ſal

'ſal of my Lord ANGLESEY's Books,
'we ſhould never have heard of
'the *Memorandum*. Had not Dr.
'HOLLINGWORTH's indiſcreet Zeal
'provok'd the only Man then a-
'live who had any perſonal know-
'ledg of this Buſineſs, Dr. WALKER
'had never publiſh'd his Account;
'nor would the whole Diſcovery
'be ſo complete, without the leaſt
'Intricacy or Queſtion, without
'Mr. NORTH's Papers.

THIS is the complete Hiſtory of *Ikon Baſilike*, as it is ſuppos'd to be a Forgery; and we muſt next proceed to examin the Exceptions made to it, as they are collected by Mr. WAGSTAF in his *Vindicati- of King* CHARLES *the Martyr*. To begin with my Lord ANGLESEY's *Memorandum*, 'tis urg'd, that it does not particularly expreſs by the Date whether it meant the laſt Seſſion of Parliament before the writing of it, or the laſt Seſſion of

the Year 75. when it is plain that he meant the laſt or Winter Seſſion; and that it was therefore the immediat Seſſion preceding the writing of this *Memorandum.* To ſay that there is no Witneſs to it is a very ſingular ſort of Objection, when his Lordſhips Relations, and all that have ſeen this and his other Writings, own it to be his Hand. It is not likely that there were any Witneſſes of the Royal Brother's telling him their Opinionof *Icon Baſilike*: Nor is there any thing more common than for learned or great Men to leave ſuch *Memorandums* in a Book concerning the Author of it when it was a Queſtion, or about any other Secret relating to it, which they thought they had diſcover'd; and yet 'tis a thing unheard till now, that they were deny'd to be theirs whoſe Names they bear, becauſe the Day of the Month was not mention'd, nor the Names

Names of any Witneſſes added, when the Hand was confeſt to be the ſame with their other Writings. Many inſtances of this kind appear in the Books of Mr. HAMDEN lately ſold, and whereof I have ſom to ſhew, as in the Book intitul'd, *Apollonii Grallæ*, he writes, that LANSBERGIUS was the Author of it, of whom he there gives a Character.

IT is no juſt Exception to this *Memorandum*, that my Lord ANGLESEY did not communicat the Contents of it to any of his Friends or Relations: for tho' the Two Royal Brothers imparted the Secret to him, it does by no means follow, that they intended he ſhould publiſh it to the World. And ſuppoſing they did not oblige him to ſilence, yet 'tis probable that his Lordſhip was not very fond of being diſturb'd by the Clamors of ſom Churchmen, who carry'd things ſo high at that time, that

I do not believe they would pardon ſuch a Diſcovery to either of the Brothers themſelves. There was never any poor Prince more notoriouſly abus'd by many of thoſe he took for his beſt Friends than CHARLES the Firſt. They put him on all thoſe unhappy Meaſures which prov'd his Ruin in the end. And as they made uſe of his Temper to ſerve their own Purpoſes when he was alive, ſo they did of his Name for the ſame Reaſon after his Death. They were not concern'd ſo much for his Honor, as their own Intereſt; and having contriv'd this Forgery to carry their Cauſe, they thought themſelves afterwards oblig'd to ſupport it. Mr. WAGSTAF affirms that there is no preſumtion that the Royal Brothers communicated this Affair to any other Perſon beſides my Lord ANGELSEY, which is a negative Argument, and proves nothing. 'Tis poſſible enough that my

my Lord Anglesey himſelf told of this to others, tho' they may be ſince dead, or are not willing to tell it again. If the Royal Brothers had ſpoke of it to no body elſe, it follows not that a Secret was never committed to one, becauſe it was not to more; as if it were neceſſary for a Man to call Witneſſes that he imparted a Secret to his Friend. But we ſhall preſently alledge more than a Preſumtion, that both King Charles the Second and the late King James declar'd their Opinion to other People beſides my Lord Anglesey, that *Icon Baſilike* was not their Father's Book.

By ſuch nice Cavils againſt the *Memorandum* we can eaſily judg of the Exceptions we may expect to Dr. Walker's Account. That Gauden hop'd o make a Fortune by this Book, as well as to promote the Cauſe of the Church, ought by no means

to be counted ſtrange; for who is it, pray, that ſerves the King any more than God, for nought? Have not moſt of the Biſhops and other Clergymen of thoſe times, that either liv'd depriv'd here in *England*, or that accompany'd CHARLES the Second in his Exile, pleaded their Loyalty, and magnify'd their Services at the Reſtoration, as many others would queſtionleſs do, if King JAMES ſhould ever return again? Were not great Perſons employ'd to ſolicit and make an Intereſt for them? And, in a Word, are not Divines obſerv'd to make the ſame Steps, and take the ſame Meaſures that all other ſorts of Men do to get Preferment. I ſhould rather doubt that Dr. GAUDEN was not the Author of this Forgery, if he had not expected a Reward for it from CHARLES the Second; for 'tis certain, that the Credit of *Icon Baſilike* contributed more to his Eſtabliſh-

bliſhment than any other ſingle Motive whatſoever. But 'tis well known that this Prince was not the kindeſt in the World to his Father's Friends, who would too often forget his own; and that it was not the Intereſt of ſom People to have this buſineſs unravell'd, tho' their impolitic Conduct has bin ſince the occaſion of divulging what every body ſuſpected before.

THE Immorality of this Forgery is urg'd as an Argument againſt it; and, if it could by any means hold Water, is indeed an Argument worth a Million. Then it would clearly follow that becauſe it was a moſt immoral thing to ly for God, and to forge Books, Epiſtles, or the like, under the Names of CHRIST and his Apoſtles, there were therefore never any ſuch Pieces; and that becauſe it was an ill thing to feign Miracles, or to deſtroy Mens

Lives for the Advancement of Religion, there never was therefore any Prieſtcraft, nor any of theſe infamous Practices known in the World. But if the contrary be as clear as the Day, I believe Men might be found that would make as bold with the Name of King CHARLES, as others have don with that of King JESUS. Mr. WAGSTAF knows, tho' Mr. BLACKHALL does not, that TERTULLIAN * tells us of a certain Presbyter of *Aſia*, who when he was accus'd of having forg'd a Book containing the Travels of PAUL and THECLA, confeſt the Fact, and alledg'd that he did it for the love of PAUL, and I ſay, that Dr. GAUDEN wrote *Icon Baſilike* for the Church's ſake, the King's, and his own.

* De Baptiſmo, c. 17. etiam Hieronym. in Catalogo Scriptor. Eccleſ.

AS

AS for the plauſible Accounts given in that Book of the King's Secret Intentions, his particular Trobles, his Remorſes of Conſciences, and the like, it is very ridiculous to alledge 'em as an Argument of the Genuinneſs of it, when the Book was written for that very end. For the Deſign of the Author was to give ſuch a Color to all the King's Actions, and to tell ſuch fine things of his gracious Purpoſes, as would beget a better Opinion of him in the Readers Mind, and move his Indignation againſt the Parliament, or Compaſſion of his Misfortunes. But that Dr. GAUDEN has frequently made the King's Thoughts to contradict his Actions, is evident to any Man that has both read *Icon Baſilike*, and the Hiſtory of thoſe times: And this Subject is thro'ly handled by JOHN MILTON in his *Iconoclaſtes*, to which I refer thoſe who want Satisfaction.

BUT

BUT there is an Objection ſtill behind, and as ſtrong, be ſure, as any of the reſt, which is that Dr. WALKER did not ſee Dr. GAUDEN write this Book, nor tells us that it was in his own Hand. But I believe Mr. WAGSTAF is the only Man living that queſtions whether Dr. WALKER meant Dr. GAUDEN's own Writing, when he ſays, that before the whole was finiſht Dr. GAUDEN was pleas'd to acquaint him with his Deſign, and ſhew him the Heads of diverſe Chapters, with ſom of the Diſcourſes written of them, and that Mr. GIFFORD tranſcrib'd a Copy of it. This is all that can be ſaid of any Author in the World: and if Dr. WALKER had ſaid more expreſly, or rather ſuperfluouſly, that it was likewiſe D. GAUDEN's Handwriting, we ſhould then have bin told, that it was a Tranſcript from the King's Copy in the Hands of Mr. SYMMONDS, of which more hereafter.

WE

WE proceed now to thoſe Pieces commonly call'd *Mr.* NORTH's *Papers*, he being the Diſcoverer. Chancellor HYDE in his Letter to Dr. GAUDEN, tells him, as was ſaid before, 'That the Particu-'lar he mention'd had indeed bin 'imparted to him as a Secret, 'which he was ſorry he ever knew; 'and that when it ceaſt to be a Se-'cret, it would pleaſe none but Mr. MILTON. Was there no other Secret in the World but this, ſays Mr. WAGSTAF, that the divulging of it would gratify Mr. MILTON? Yes doubtleſs; but I believe not one that would pleaſe none but Mr. MILTON, as the Chancellor expreſſes it: For he having particularly queſtion'd the Genuinneſs of this Book, and offer'd a fair Proof of the Spuriouſneſs thereof from intrinſic Evidence only, without any further Light; would be extreamly pleas'd to find his Reaſonings and Judgment confirm'd by undeniable Mat-

Matters of Fact. Nor does any indifferent Perſon in the World underſtand this Paſſage otherwiſe that weighs Dr. GAUDEN's Pretences with Mr. MILTON's Concern, and conſiders that Mrs. GAUDEN put this and the other Papers relating to *Icon Baſilike* in one Bundle, together with her own Narrative, for the Information of her Son. Beſides that all thoſe who ever ſaw other Writings of the Chancellor own this to be his Hand, and particularly his eldeſt Son, the preſent Earl of CLARENDON, as Mr. WAGSTAF himſelf acknowledges.

BUT he ſays, 'That my Lord 'CLARENDON, (from whom he had 'it in a Letter) by leave of the 'King and Queen preparing to at'tend his Father in *France* in the be'ginning of the Summer, 1674. his 'Lordſhip went firſt to *Farnham* to 'the late Biſhop of *Winton* the 14th 'of *May*, and among ſeveral 'things he had in Charge from the 'Bi-

'Biſhop to his Father, he bad him 'tell him, that the King had very 'ill People about him, who turn'd 'all things into Ridicule; that they 'endeavor'd to bring him to 'have a mean Opinion of the King 'his Father, and to perſuade him 'that he was not the Author of 'the Book which goes under his 'Name. And (when after his 'Lordſhip's Arrival in *France*, the '30th. of the ſame Month, he had 'deliver'd his Father theſe Particu-'lars among others) to that con-'cerning the Book, his Father re-'ply'd, *Good God! I thought the* '*Marquiſs of* Hartford *had ſatis-*'*fy'd the King in that Matter.* From hence Mr. WAGSTAF would infer, that my Lord Chancellor did not believe any other beſides CHARLES the Firſt to be the Author of *Icon Baſilike*, and that he wondred any ſhould go about to induce CHARLES the Second to queſtion it. But for my part I think it very plain

on

on the contrary, that he believ'd King Charles the Firſt not to be the Author of that Book, and wondred that King Charles the Second ſhould not underſtand ſo much from the Marquiſs of *Hartford*, who, as Dr. Walker, and Mrs. Gauden inform us, was the Perſon that carry'd the Manuſcript to the King in the *Iſle of Wight*, and ſo next to Dr. Gauden himſelf, was beſt able to convince his Son of the Truth. Moreover, how could the Biſhop of *Winton* imagin that the ill People about Charles the Second could bring him to doubt of his Father's being the Author of *Icon Baſilike*, if he really knew it to be written by him? when upon this Suppoſition he was rather capable of ſatisfying all thoſe who had any Scruples in this Affair.

AS for Dr. Gauden's great Services, and his ſaying in a Letter to the Chancellor, 'That what was 'don like a King, ſhould have a King-

'Kinglike Retribution, Mr. WAGSTAF ſays that thoſe are Myſtical Expreſſions, and that by them he might probably mean a Book he wrote againſt the *Covenant*, and a *Proteſtation* he publiſht againſt the King's Death, neither of which could be term'd ſuch extraordinary Services, when many others had don the ſame, and more: much leſs could it be ſaid that either of theſe Books was *don like a King*, or *deſerv'd a Kinglike Retribution*; whereas Mr. WAGSTAF, and thoſe who are of his Opinion, maintain that the the Stile and Matter of *Icon Baſilike* are ſo like a King's, that no Subject could poſſibly write it: but a Multtiude of others agree with me, that the Stile is infinitely liker that of a Doctor than a King.

LASTLY, It is objected that Dr. WALKER's and Mrs. GAUDEN's Teſtimonies contradict one another. But how? Dr. WALKER ſays, that Dr. GAUDEN told him he did not know

it

if CHARLES the Firſt had ſeen the Book : but Mrs. GAUDEN affirms, that the Marquiſs of *Hartford* told her Husband the King had ſeen and approv'd it, both which Aſſertions are conſiſtent enough together. For Dr. GAUDEN might be ignorant that the King had ſeen it, when Dr. WALKER askt him that Queſtion, who perhaps never mention'd it to him again in their Diſcourſes about this Matter, or might eaſily forget it, as he ſays he did ſeveral other Particulars, little foreſeeing he ſhould ever be oblig'd to make this Diſcovery : and beſides we muſt upon all Accounts allow his Wife to know more Circumſtances of this Buſineſs, as of moſt others, than his Friend. The next ſuppos'd Contradiction is, that Dr. WALKER ſays Dr. GAUDEN once told him, after the Reſtoration, that he did not poſitively and certainly know if King CHARLES the Second knew he wrote *Icon Baſilike*, tho' he believ'd he

he might, becauſe the Duke of *York* did, who own'd it to have bin a ſeaſonable and acceptable Service. But Mrs. GAUDEN affirms, that her Husband acquainted the King with it himſelf, which is very true. But pray let us examin at what time. After his Diſcourſe with Dr. WALKER moſt certainly: For does ſhe not in clear and direct Terms ſay, that it was in his laſt Sickneſs, which prov'd Mortal to him; and that the Reaſon of it was, becauſe he ſaw ſom Perſons who were privy to it deſire nothing more than to have it conceal'd, which he was not willing it ſhould be in conſideration of his numerous Family, to whom it might ſomtime or other do ſeaſonable Service?

NOW that no Miſtakes may be occaſion'd hereafter by imperfect Fragments of Mrs. GAU-

DEN's Narrative, and that this Affair may be ſet in the cleareſt Light, I ſhall, before I proceed to the Examination of the poſitive Teſtimonies produc'd for the King, inſert the Narrative here at large, as it was exactly copy'd from the Original, to which the curious are refer'd.

Mrs.

Mrs. *GAUDEN's*

NARRATIVE.

'MY Husband underſtanding the great Value and Eſteem the People had of CROMWELL and of others in the Army, occaſion'd by the high Opinion which they had of their Parts, and Piety; he being alſo well aſſur'd, that one of the main Deſigns of thoſe wicked Politicians, was to Eclipſe his Majeſty that then was, as much as might be, and to give a falſe Miſrepreſentation of him to the World; he, that he might do his Majeſty right, did pen that Book which goes by the Name of the King's Book. The Title which he gave it then was *Suſpiria Regalia*; and the Deſign was to have it put forth as by ſom

'Perſon who had found the Pa-
'pers in his Majeſty's Chambers at
'*Holmeby*, being by chance left or
'ſcatter'd there. And to this pur-
'poſe he had prefix'd an Epiſtle,
'which might be ſuppos'd to be
'written by that Perſon, who ha-
'ving found them by that Acci-
'dent, thought it not fit to con-
'ceal them. His Deſign alſo in
'the Book, was to give ſuch a
'Character of her Majeſty to
'the World, as her great Worth,
'extream Merits, and admira-
'rable Endowments deſerv'd.
'when my Husband had writ it,
'he ſhew'd it to my Lord CAPEL,
'who did very highly approve of
'it; and though he thought it
'would do very well to have it
'printed, yet he ſaid it was not fit
'to do ſo without his Majeſty's
'Approbation; and to come to
'ſpeak to his Majeſty in private
'was then impoſſible, in regard
'of the ſtrict Guard which they
'kept

'kept about him. Immediately
'after this there was a Treaty with
'his Majeſty at the *Iſle of Wight*,
'whereupon my Husband went to
'my Lord Marquiſs of *Hartford*
'that then was, and to him
'deliver'd the Manuſcript, and
'he deliver'd it to the King at the
'*Iſle of Wight*, and likewiſe told
'him who the Author was. When
'my Lord Marquiſs return'd; my
'Husband went to him, to whom
'my Lord ſaid, That his Majeſty
'having had ſome of thoſe Eſſays
'read to him by Biſhop DUPPA, did
'exceedingly approve of them,
'and asked whether they could not
'be put out in ſome other Name.
'The Biſhop reply'd, that the De-
'ſign was, that the World ſhould
'take them to be his Majeſty's.
'Whereupon his Majeſty deſir'd
'time to conſider of it; and this
'(ſays my Lord) is all the Account
'I can give of it: What is becom̃e
'of the Manuſcript I know not,

'and what will become of his Ma-
'jeſty God knows. Upon this my
'Husband told my Lord Mar-
'quiſs, That, in his Opinion, there
'was no way ſo probable to
'ſave his Majeſty's Life, as by en-
'deavouring to move the Hearts
'and Affections of the People as
'much as might be towards him;
'and that he alſo thought that
'that Book would be very effectu-
'al for that purpoſe. Then my
'Lord bad my Husband to do
'what he would, in regard the
'Caſe was deſperate. Then im-
'mediately my Husband reſolv'd
'to print it with all ſpeed that
'might be, he having a Copy of
'that which he ſent to the King,
'and that he printed was juſt the
'ſame, only he then added, the
'*Eſſay* upon their denying his Ma-
'jeſty the Attendance of his Chap-
'lains, and the *Meditation of Death*,
'after the Votes of the Non-ad-
'dreſſes, and his Majeſty's cloſe

Im-

'Impriſonment at *Carisbrook Caſtle*. Now the Inſtrument which 'my Husband employ'd to get it 'printed, was one Mr. SIMMONDS, 'a Divine, and a great Sufferer 'for his Majeſty; and he got one 'Mr. ROYSTON to print it; which 'ROYSTON never knew any thing 'but that it was of his Majeſty's 'own penning: my Husband did 'then alter the Title of it, and 'call'd it *Icon Baſilike*. Now 'when it was about half printed, 'they, who were in power, found 'the Preſs where it was printing, 'and likewiſe a Letter of my Huſ-'bands, which he ſent up to the 'Preſs; whereupon they deſtroy'd 'all that they then found printed, 'but could not find out from 'whence the Letter came, in re-'gard it had no Name to it. Not-'withſtanding all this, my Huſ-'band attempted the printing 'of it again, but could by no 'means get it finiſh'd till ſom few

'Days after his Majeſty was de-
'ſtroyed. When it was com out,
'they who were then in Power
'were not only extremely diſpleas'd
'at it, but alſo infinitely ſolicitous
'to find out the Author of it,
'thinking it very improbable that
'his Majeſty ſhould write it, in re-
'gard of the great Diſturbances
'and Troubles which for many
'Years he had ſuffer'd: or at leaſt
'impoſſible that he ſhould have writ
'it all; for after the Attendance of
'his Chaplains was deny'd him, and
'he a cloſe Priſoner, they well un-
'derſtood that he could not write
'any thing without their Diſcove-
'ry. They alſo took that very Ma-
'nuſcript which my Husband had
'ſent his Majeſty, and ſaw that it
'was none of his Majeſty's Hand-
'writing. Upon this they ap-
'pointed a Committee to examin
'the Buſineſs; of which my Huſ-
'band having notice, he went pri-
'vatly in the Night away from his
own

'own Houſe to Sir JOHN WENT-
'WORTH's, who liv'd near *Yarmouth*,
'and him he acquainted with the
'Buſineſs, and the great Danger
'he was then in: when Sir JOHN
'did not only promiſe to conceal
'him, but alſo to convey him out
'of *England*, it being in his Pow-
'er to give Paſſes to go beyond
'Sea. About this time Mr. SYM-
'MONDS was taken in a Diſguiſe;
'but God in his Providence ſo or-
'der'd it, that he ſickned immedi-
'atly, and dy'd before he came
'to his Examination: nor could
'the Committee find out any
'thing by any means whatever;
'which alter'd my Husband's Re-
'ſolutions of going out of *England*.
'Now, beſides theſe Circumſtan-
'ces, to aſſert the Truth of what
'I ſay, I can produce ſom Let-
'ters, which, I am ſure, will put
'it out of all Diſpute. My Husband
'continu'd at *Bocking* till the return
'of his Majeſty King CHARLES the

'Se-

'Second; and upon his Reſto-
'ration, knowing his Princely
'Diſpoſition, did not unjuſtly ex-
'pect a ſuitable Reward for his
'Endeavors to ſerve his Majeſty's
'Father and himſelf in that Book.
'And meeting with Dr. Morley,
'he fell into Diſcourſe how ſenſible
'he was of the great Service which
'he had don his preſent Majeſty
'and the Royal Family, in compo-
'ſing and ſetting forth that excellent
'Piece, call'd *the King's Book*; and
'alſo aſſur'd him, that it had bin
'very effectual not only at home,
'but abroad, to move the Hearts
'and Affections of People towards
'his Majeſty, inſtancing in ſeveral
'Perſons who were moſt exceedingly
'affected with it; and ſo advanta-
'geous he ſaid it had bin to his
'Majeſty, that according to his
'great Merit, he might have what
'Preferment he deſir'd. Dr. Mor-
'ley alſo told him, That he had
'acquainted Sir Edward Hyde with
'the

'the Buſineſs, and that he did ve-
'ry much commend and admire
'it: but we have not (ſaid he) ac-
'quainted his Majeſty with it, but
'did aſſure him, that his Majeſty
'did ſet a high Value upon the
'Book, and had commanded Dr.
'EARL to tranſlate into *Latin*;
'ſom having taken the Pains to
'put it into other Languages be-
'fore. My Husband being encou-
'raged by this Diſcourſe of Dr.
'MOALEY's, and ſhortly after meet-
'ing with Dr. SHELDON (who he
'knew was not ignorant that he was
'the only Author of the foremen-
'tion'd Book) he told Dr. SHEL-
'DON, that ſince he had bin in-
'form'd that his Majeſty, out of
'his Princely Diſpoſition, would
'(without doubt) when once ac-
'quainted with it, reward that Ser-
'vice which he had endeavor'd to
'do his Father and himſelf; he
'thought it moſt convenient for
'himſelf, and alſo that he might

'be

'be ſerviceable to his Majeſty in the 'Dioceſs of *London* (a Place where 'he was well known) if it would 'pleaſe his Majeſty to make him 'Biſhop of that See. Dr. SHELDON 'was pleas'd, with a great deal of 'Gravity to tell him that was a great 'Leap at firſt. Whereupon my Huſ-'band deſiſted, and was reſolv'd to 'leave his Preferment to God's diſ-'poſe. Soon after this, the King be-'ing ſtill ignorant of what he had 'done, he was by the Mediation of 'a Perſon perfectly ignorant of his 'Merit as to this Matter, made Biſhop 'of *Exeter*; all the conſiderable Bi-'ſhopricks being otherwiſe diſpos'd 'of. Not long after this it pleas'd 'God to viſit my Husband with 'an Infirmity, which he had 'great cauſe to fear would (as it 'did) prove mortal to him. This 'made him reſolve to acquaint the 'King with the whole Matter, 'and the rather, becauſe he ſaw 'ſom Perſons who were privy to

'it,

'it, deſir'd nothing more than to 'have it conceal'd, and bury'd in 'Oblivion: but my Husband was 'not willing it ſhould be ſo, in 'regard he had at that time four 'Sons living; and they (he 'thought) if he ſhould die, might 'be capable of his Majeſty's Fa-'vour. Beſides, the Duke of *So-'merſet* was dead, and the Biſhop 'of *Winchester* (the Perſon who 'was beſt able to atteſt it) was 'very ill. Theſe Conſiderations 'made him go to his Majeſty; 'and having the Opportunity of 'diſcourſing privatly with him, 'he told him the whole Matter as 'I have related it, and for the 'Truth of it, appeal'd to Dr. Dup-'pa, then Biſhop of *Winchester*, 'and formerly his Majeſty's Tu-'tor. The King then was pleas'd 'to entertain ſom Diſcourſe with 'my Husband about it, and ſaid 'that he did often wonder how 'his Father ſhould have gotten

'Time

'Time and Privacy enough in his 'Troubles to compoſe ſo excel-'lent a Piece, and written with ſo 'much Learning.

BY the Extract that was publiſh'd of this Narrative it would ſeem as if it were ſomwhat longer; but this is all that came to my Hands, two Witneſſes atteſting, that as far as it goes, it is exactly conformable to the Original. What Accident hinder'd the reſt (if there be any) from being copy'd, I cannot certainly tell; tho', when ever I com by a true Information, I ſhall (if Occaſion be) publiſh my Knowledg of that Particular, in an Appendix to this Book. The Subſtance of what remains in the Abſtract, is, That when King CHARLES the Se-'cond (as we ſaw but now) was 'made acquainted with this My-'ſtery, he gave a Promiſe to Dr. 'GAUDEN of the Biſhoprick of *Win-cheſter*;

'*cheſter*; and that the Duke of '*York* had alſo aſſur'd him of his 'Favor: That upon Dr. DUPPA's 'Death, tho' Dr. GAUDEN put the 'King in mind of his Promiſe, he 'was only made Biſhop of *Wor-*'*ceſter*, Dr. MORLEY having ob-'tain'd the See of *Winchester*: 'That her Husband dying ſoon 'after, Mrs. GAUDEN petition'd the 'King, ſhewing that ſhe was left 'a Widow, with four Sons and a 'Daughter; that it coſt her Huſ-'band 200 *l.* to remove from *Exe-*'*ter* to *Worceſter*; and pray'd his 'Majeſty to beſtow the half years 'Rents upon her, which he deny'd, 'and gave then to another.

WE learn further from Dr. WALKER, that immediatly upon Dr. GAUDEN's Nomination to the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, he told him, that waiting upon the King the next Morning after the Biſhop of *Winchester*'s Death, he found a remarkable Alteration in him, his Ma-

Majeſty being penſive and out of Humor; in which Temper he ſtill found him for two Mornings after: But having learnt the third Day that my Lord Chancellor had by all his Intereſt preſs'd the King to beſtow *Wincheſter* on Dr. Morley, he preſum'd to tell his Majeſty how uneaſie he perceiv'd him to be between the Honor of his Word that he ſhou'd ſucceed his Friend Dr. Duppa, and the Importunity of thoſe who ſollicited for Dr. Morley; and that therfore he moſt willingly releas'd his Majeſty of his Promiſe. Here, continues Dr. Gauden, the King ſtopt me, and vouchſaf'd to embrace me in his Arms, with theſe Expreſſions; *My Lord, I thank you; and it may not be long ere I have Opportunity to ſhew you how kindly I take it. And in the mean time you ſhall have* Worceſter; *and, to make it to you as good as I can, all the Dignities of*

of that Church (I know not how it comes to paſs) being in my Diſpoſal, I give you the dipoſing of them all during your time, that you may prefer your Friends, and have them near about you.

IT was an ordinary thing with King CHARLES the Second thus to forget his Promiſes, which made him frequently uneaſie, and occaſion'd Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE (whom he had ſerv'd after this manner) to ſay of him in his incomparable Memoirs, 'That this Temper 'made him apt to fall into the Per-'ſuaſions of whoever had his 'Kindneſs and Confidence for the 'time, how different ſoever from 'the Opinions he was of before: 'and that he was very eaſie to 'change Hands, when thoſe he 'imploy'd ſeem'd to have engag'd 'him in any Difficulties; ſo as no-'thing lookt ſteddy in the Conduct 'of his Affairs, nor aim'd at any 'certain end.

THUS we have don with the Narrative of Mrs. GAUDEN, who was often heard to relate the ſubſtance of it to her Friends and Relations, and who, when Dr. NICHOLSON, then Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, did, on her receiving of the Sacrament, put the Queſtion to her, affirm'd, that her Husband wrote that Book, which ſeveral now living in that City do very well remember.

WE come at length to the laſt Period of our Labor, and that is to ſhew the Invalidity of the Facts which are alledg'd to prove CHARLES the Firſt was the true Author of *Icon Baſilike*. And the firſt Evidence we ſhall hear is his own Son and Succeſſor, CHARLES II. who granted his Letters Patents to Mr. ROYSTON for printing all his Father's Works, and particularly this Piece, which,

which, ſays Mr. WAGSTAF, contra-tradicts what he's believ'd to have ſaid to my Lord ANGLESEY. But with his good leave the Concluſi-ſion does not follow : for theſe Letters were iſſu'd out in the Year 60, before Dr. GAUDEN gave the King true Information ; and it was in 75, that he told his Opinion to my Lord ANGLESEY long after he was convinc'd that his Father had not written the Book. But if King CHARLES the Second had diſſembled his Knowledge of this Affair, it had not bin at all a thing inconſiſtent with this Character, but a Piece of hisGrandfather's boaſted Kingcraft, and which he practic'd on many leſs pardonable Occaſions. Have not Princes in all Ages, as well as other Men, bin allow'd to keep things ſecret which it was not their Intereſt ſhould be known, and which are commonly call'd by the Name of State Myſteries ? How many Juggles are us'd by the Eaſtern Prin-

ces to beget an extraordinary Opinion of their Perſons in the Minds of their Subjects, who, by the force of ſuch fantaſtical Stories, carry their Reſpect even to Adoration? But what need I go out of *England* for Examples? When our own Kings have for ſo many Ages pretended to cure the King's Evil, by meerly touching the affected Part; and this Power of Healing is ſaid to be communicated to them by the Bleſſing of King EDWARD *the Confeſſor*, one of the weakeſt and moſt Prieſt ridden Princes that ever wore a Crown. All the Monkiſh Hiſtorians, and particularly the Abbot of *Rievalle*, who wrote his Life, have given us a large Catalogue of his Miracles: but I wonder why our Princes have not alſo pretended to reſtore Sight to the Blind; for this is alſo affirm'd of King EDWARD'S Wonder working Touch. 'Tis ſtrange, that a Proteſtant Biſhop, ſhould

ſhould compoſe a Form of Divine Service to be read on this Occaſion, when he might as warrantably believe all the other Legends of thoſe dark and ignorant times. If I did perſuade my ſelf that King Charles the Second (who is ſaid to have cur'd very many) was a Saint, it ſhould be the greateſt Miracle I could believe. But King William, who came to deliver us from Superſtition as well as from Slavery, has now abolisht this Remnant of Popery: For it is not, as his Enemies ſuggeſt, becauſe he thinks his Title, which is the beſt in the World, defective, that he abſtains from Touching; but becauſe he laughs at the Folly, and ſcorns to take the Advantage of the Fraud. So much for the Letters Patents of Charles II. and we ſhall conſider thoſe of the late King James in their due order.

THE next Witneſs ſhall be Major Huntington, who (as Sir

WILLIAM DUGDALE relates in his* *ſhort View of the Troubles of* England) did, thro' the Favor of General FAIRFAX, reſtore to King CHARLES the Firſt, after he was brought to *Hampton-Court*, the Manuſcript of *Icon Baſilike* written with the ſaid King's own Hand, and found in his Cabinet at *Naſeby* Fight. By the way, they ſhould have ſaid, for the Grace of the Story, *part of the Manuſcript*; for a good deal of the Book was written afterwards, be the Author who you pleaſe. And they ſhould have told us likewiſe how General FAIRFAX durſt ſend one part of his Papers to the King, when he ſent the reſt to the Parliament; or, ſince they would make us believe he was ſo kind to the King, why he did not reſtore him all the Papers, when 'tis very evident, that thoſe which the Parliament order'd to be publiſh'd were infinitely of greater conſequence, and made him a world

* P. 380.

world of Enemies, which oblig'd the Author of *Icon Baſilike* to write a Chapter on this very Subject; whereas the Papers in queſtion would probably mollify ſom of his Oppoſers. But now when all is don, tho' General FAIRFAX was afterwards againſt putting the King to death, yet he was not at that time diſpos'd to grant him any Favors, and acted with as hearty Zeal againſt him as any in the Nation, which appears by all the Hiſtories of thoſe times, as well as by his own and the Memoirs of the Lord HOLLIS. As for Major HUNTINGTON Dr. WALKER aſſures us, 'That he told him, when he 'heard ſuch a Book was publiſh'd 'and confidently reported to be the 'Kings, all he ſaid was that he ſure-'ly believ'd thoſe were the Papers 'he ſaw him ſo uſually take out of 'his Cabinet, and that he never 'read one Line or Word of them. This and Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE's

Teſtimony are diverſe from that of Mr. Richard Duke, of *Otterton* in *Devon*, who writes the following Letter to Dr. Goodal, famous for his Zeal on the behalf of *Icon Baſilike*. 'Sir, I confeſs that I heard 'Major Huntington to ſay more 'than once, that whilſt he guard-'ed Charles the Firſt at *Holmby-'Houſe* (as I remember) he ſaw ſe-'veral Chapters or Leaves of that 'great King's Meditations lying on 'the Table ſeveral Mornings, with 'a Pen and Ink with which the 'King ſcratch'd out or blotted ſom 'Lines or Words of ſom of them. 'Upon which I muſt alſo confeſs 'that I concluded they were origi-'nally from the King; but others 'have drawn a contrary Argu-'ment from the King's correcting 'the Papers. Yet I put this under 'my Hand, that the Major told 'me, that he did ſuppoſe them 'originally from that learned 'Prince, which is the *Totum* that

'can

'can be intimated from, Sir, your 'humble Servant Richard Duke.' Then one Mr. Cave Beck writes to Dr. Hollingworth 'That Ma-'jor Huntington at *Ipſwich* aſ-'ſur'd him that ſo much of the 'ſaid Book as contain'd his Maje-'ſty's Mediations before *Naſeby*-'Fight was taken in the King's 'Cabinet; and that Sir Thomas 'Fairfax deliver'd the ſaid Papers 'to him, and order'd him to 'carry them to the King; and 'alſo told him, that when he de-'liver'd them to the King, his 'Majeſty appear'd very joyful, and 'ſaid he eſteem'd 'em more than 'all the Jewels he had loſt in the 'Cabinet. This Major Hunting-ton was a ſtrange Man to vary ſo often in his Story, and to tell ſo much more or leſs to every body that enquir'd of him; but in-deed 'tis no great Wonder that theſe Gentlemen ſhould ſo widely differ from one another, both as to

Time

Time and Place, as well as to Matters of Fact, when Sir William Dugdale has printed under Major Huntington's Name quite another Story from the written Memorial out of which he had it. In his *ſhort View* he poſitively ſays, as we read before, that the Manuſcript was written with the King's own Hand: But in his Warrant for this, it is only ſaid, as Mr. Wagstaf himſelf acknowledges, that all the Chapters in it were written by the Hand of Sir Edward Walker, but much corrected with Interlineations of the King's Hand, and that the Prayers were all ſo.

NOW, to ſhew further how cautiouſly People ſhould rely on Sir William Dugdale, and Hiſtorians like him, we ſhall produce another remarkable Inſtance. In the Book before-quoted, he expreſly writes, That Mr. Herbert did often ſee the *Icon Baſilike* while he

he waited on the King in the *Iſle of Wight*; wheras all that Sir THOMAS (for he was Knighted after the Reſtoration) has ſaid in the Manuſcript which Sir WILLIAM perus'd, and wherof Mr. WAGSTAF has printed an Abſtract, is, that he 'had there the Charge of the King's 'Books; and that thoſe he moſt read, 'after the Sacred Scriptures, were 'Biſhop ANDREWS's Sermons, HOOK-'ER's Eccleſiaſtical Policy, VILLALPAN-'DUS on EZEKIEL, SANDY's Paraphraſe 'on the *Pſalms*, HERBERT's Poems, 'the Tranſlation of GODFREY of '*Bulloign* by Mr. FAIRFAX, of OR-'LANDO FURIOSO by Sir JOHN HAR-'RINGTON, and SPENCER's Fairy 'Queen (to which he might have 'added PEMBROKE's *Arcadia*.) And 'at this time it was, as is preſum'd, '(continues Sir THOMAS) that he 'compos'd his Book, call'd *Suſpiria* '*Regalia*, publiſh'd ſoon after his 'Death, and entitul'd, *The King's* '*Portraiture in his Solitudes and Suf-*

'*ferings*

'*ferings*: which Manuſcript Mr. 'HERBERT found among thoſe 'Books his Majeſty was pleas'd to 'give him, thoſe excepted which he 'bequeath'd to his Children here-'after mention'd. In regard Mr. 'HERBERT, tho' he did not ſee 'the King write that Book, his 'Majeſty being always privat when 'he writ; and thoſe his Servants 'never coming into the Bed Cham-'ber when the King was privat, 'til he call'd; yet comparing 'it with his Hand-writing in other 'things, he found it ſo very like as 'induces his Belief that it was his 'own, having ſeen much of the 'King's Writings before. Here Sir THOMAS only preſumes the King might write the Book in the *Iſle of Wight*, and directly ſays he never ſaw the King write it, nor the Book it ſelf till after his Death; but Sir WILLIAM affirms from theſe very Papers (for they are ſaid to be written at his Requeſt by Sir THO-

MAS

MAS) that he often ſaw it in the *Iſle of Wight* when he waited on the King in his Bed-Chamber. 'Tis to be obſerv'd, that the Title of *Suſpiria Regalia* is as agreeable to Mrs. GAUDEN's Narrative, as the reſt of the Particulars are different from Sir WILLIAM's Relation.

BEFORE we examin the Force of Sir THOMAS's Teſtimony, we muſt firſt conſider what is ſaid by Mr. LEVET, who attended the King at the ſame Time and Place. In ſhort, he ſays, 'That of his 'own certain Knowledg he can 'depoſe the Book was truly the 'Kings, having obſerv'd his Ma-'jeſty oftentimes writing his Royal 'Reſentments of the bold and in-'ſolent Behavior of his Soldiers 'when they had him in their Cu-'ſtody: That being nominated by 'his Majeſty to be one of his 'Servants during the Treaty in the '*Iſle of Wight*, he had the Happi-'neſs to read the ſame oftentimes

in

'in Manuſcript under his Maje-
'ſty's own Hand, being pleaſ'd
'to leave it in the Window
'of his Bed-Chamber: And
'that when the King was remov'd
'to *Hurſt-Caſtle*, he had the Charge
'of this Book, and a Cabinet of
'other Papers, which at the ſaid
'Caſtle he deliver'd again to his
'Majeſty; where, by the way, he does not inform us if the Book was diſtinctly given him from the Cabinet, or that he only concluded it was in it. Here are ſeveral very obſervable Circumſtances: As, Firſt, that altho' Mr. HERBERT who was of the King's Bed-Chamber, never ſaw him write a Syllable of this Book, his (Majeſty, he ſays, being always in privat, when he wrote, and his Servants never coming into his Bed-Chamber till he call'd;) yet Mr. LEVET, a Page of the Back Stairs, often ſaw him write, knew what he wrote, and could read the Book when he pleas'd.

pleas'd. Then that the King, who is ſaid to value this Book more than all his Jewels, ſhould ſo careleſly leave it in his Bed-chamber when he was abroad, and where Mr. HERBERT and others, nay the very Soldiers might ſee it as well as Mr. LEVET, is not very likely. And laſtly, that the King ſhould have ſo much leiſure to mind this Book during a Treaty with his Subjects, or would loſe any time in writing of it, when the Buſineſs in agitation concern'd no leſs than his re-eſtabliſhment or Abdication, is not credible; beſides, that there is nothing particularly written concerning the Inſolence of the Soldiers in all *Icon Baſilike*. And I have talk'd with Perſons of Quality and good Reputation now alive, who had much more of his Majeſty's Company and Confidence in the *Iſle of Wight* than Mr. LEVET either ſhar'd, or could reaſonably expect; but yet they neither dreamt

dreamt of this Buſineſs then, nor believ'd a jot of it afterwards, as well knowing how the King ſpent his time in that place. But now ſuppoſing Mr. Levet's Relation to be all true, yet it is very from amounting to a Proof, that King Charles the Firſt was was the real Author of *Icon Baſilike*, which is the Point in queſtion; and not whether he interlin'd or tranſcrib'd it, which he ought to have don, if he had a mind it ſhould paſs for his own: beſides that Dr. Gauden ſent it to him for that very purpoſe, to be corrected, allow'd, or laid aſide, as his Majeſty ſhould think fit. But tho' the King in all reaſon might, and I really believe did, correct or interline a part, and perhaps tranſcribe the whole Book; yet I can by no means be perſuaded that he could find Leiſure enough to write ſo many Copies of it in his Solitudes and Sufferings, in the midſt

midſt of Treaties, in the Hurry of Removals, while he meditated his Eſcape, and was ſtrictly obſerv'd by his Guards. But theſe Gentlemen tell us of as many Copies, as the Papiſts ſhew Heads of St. JOHN BAPTIST, or Quarts of the Virgin MARY's Milk. Mr. HERBERT had one left him by the King for a Legacy; CHARLES the Second (as Dr. CANARIES writes to Mr. WAGSTAF) ſhew'd another to Mr. WOOD, a Commiſſioner from the *Scotiſh Kirk* at *Breda*; and who knows which of theſe, or whether it was either of them, that Mr. LEVET deliver'd to the King at *Hurſt-Caſtle*? But why, in the Name of God, is none of theſe ever ſince produc'd? How came this Prince's Autographs to be thus neglected, when his Day is ſo ſtrictly obſerv'd? This is a Piece of Reſpect that's uſually paid to leſs conſiderable Perſons; and I believe either of the Univerſities, would rea-

dily give Five Hundred Pounds to have ſuch a Copy plac'd in their Library, tho' if they had the Manuſcript, it would make nothing at all for their Purpoſe.

NOW let us conſider the the Force of all thoſe Teſtimonies join'd together, which is, that one ſaw the King write he knew not what, but believ'd it might be this Book; another obſerv'd him writing his Reſentments againſt the rude Behavior of the Soldiers, and ſo was ready to depoſe of his certain Knowledge, that *Icon Baſilike* was his own; a third preſumes the King might write it, becauſe he read a great many Books; and they unanimouſly conclude, that he was the genuin Author, becauſe the Book was written with his own Hand; all which Teſtimonies, conſidering the Premiſes, prove no more nor leſs than that the King could write and read,

read, which was never deny'd by any that I know.

IT is further urg'd by the Admirers of this famous Book, that Mr. ROYSTON had it to print as from the King, in which all ſides are agreed, and ſignifies nothing to the Merits of the Cauſe; for, be ſure, the Bookſeller was not made privy to the Secret. And as for the Anonymous Authors of two Books which are alledg'd by Mr. WAGSTAF, we ſhall hear and examin them when they'll pleaſe to tell us their Names, tho' all they have to ſay is anſwer'd already. When Dr. HOLLINGWORTH tells us who are his ſufficient Witneſſes, we ſhall likewiſe conſider their Evidence; for ſuch Affirmations muſt go for nothing in proving a Fact of this Nature, and may well ſerve for a Flouriſh, but not for an Argument, no more than ſeveral more Aſſertions of his concerning this Matter, which were exploded by other Hands, and not defended by Mr. WAGSTAF.

MR. LE PLA Miniſter of *Finchingfield* writes to Dr. GOODAL, that one WILLIAM ALLEN, who collected his Tythes for two Years, and was formerly a Servant to Dr. GAUDEN, affirm'd to him, 'That the 'Doctor told him he had borrow'd 'the Book, and was oblig'd to re-'turn it by ſuch a time; that '(beſides what other time he might 'imploy in it) he ſat up one whole 'Night to tranſcribe it; that he 'ſat up in the Chamber with him, 'to wait upon him, to make his 'Fires, and ſnuff his Candles: 'and Mr. LE PLA thinks (for he's 'not poſitive) it was from Mr. 'SYMMONDS of *Rayne* that he ſaid the 'Doctor had borrow'd the Book. Dr. HOLLINGWORTH has formerly affirm'd this Story of SYMMONDS's, who indeed aſſiſted afterwards in printing the Book at *London*; but was ſo far at this time from living at *Rayne* in the Neighborhood of *Bocking* where Dr. GAUDEN dwelt, that as Dr. WALKER ſhews, Mr.

Mr. Symmonds was long before ſequeſtred for his Loyalty, fled to the King's Quarters, and one Mr. Atkins plac'd in his room by the Parliament. Nor is it credible that Dr. Gauden, whether he meant a a Fraud or not, ſhould give an Account of his Studies, much leſs diſcover the Secret of this Book for no Reaſon in the World, to never ſo truſty a Servant, eſpecially to one that was to look after his Fire and ſnuff his Candles.

NOW we com to the late King James's Letters Patents to Mr. Chiswel for Liberty to print his Father's Works; for they are urg'd as an Argument that he thought *Icon Baſilike* genuin, tho' this Book be not ſpecially mention'd in theſe Letters, which are general, and refer not to thoſe of his Brother in 60. But here I muſt beg Leave to relate a Story that will give ſom Light to this Matter. In the Year 1677, the Houſe of Commons having voted two

Months Tax for the more decent Interment of CHARLES I. and to raiſe a Monument for him, Mr. CHISWEL, being Mr. ROYSTON's Son in law, thought of a Project that would anſwer the End of the Parliament, and not be unſerviceable to his Father, with whom he was concern'd in Trade: and it was, that a Part of that Sum might be appropriated towards bearing the Charge of an Impreſſion of the King's Works, whereof every Pariſh in *England* ſhould be oblig'd to have a Copy, and to chain it in the Church; which, in his Opinion, would prove a more glorious and laſting Monument than any could be fram'd of Braſs or Marble. This Thought was very well lik'd by ſeveral great Men of the Church and State, who ſhew'd themſelves ready to promote it; and he did not, we may imagin, ſpare any Coſt or Labor to have it ſucceed, tho' 'tis well known how little CHARLES the Second himſelf encourag'd it. But the

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Diſtruſts ariſing afterwards between the King and People, the Heats in Parliament, and particularly the Popiſh Plot, broke this, and all ſuch Deſigns to Pieces: So that there was no farther Mention of any Monument for his Father. But when the Duke of *York* mounted the Throne, and had given Aſſurances of his Favor to the Church of *England*, Mr. CHISWEL thought again of reviving his Project, and employ'd Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE to procure him only King JAMES's recommendatory Letter; for he did not expect any thing from Parliament as before, only ſuggeſted how agreeable this would ſeem to the King's Deſign (if it were real) of begetting a Confidence of himſelf in the Church. This Requeſt the King refuſ'd, giving for his Reaſon, that *Icon Baſilike* was not his Father's Book, and he could not therefore in Conſcience recommend it as his.

Mr. Chiswel being inform'd of this Reſolution by Sir Roger, anſwer'd, that he thought he could accommodat the Matter: For ſince the publiſhing of the reſt would ſignifie nothing without the Addition of *Icon Baſilike*, he would remove it from the Front where it ſtood in the former Edition, and place it in the Rear after *Finis*, as Books of uncertain Authority uſe to be printed. To this the King conſented, on condition ſom Expreſſions which he thought injurious to the Monarchy ſhould be left out: with which Mr. Chiswel ſaid he could by no means comply, as being a diſingenuous Practice towards any Author, and a great Abuſe on the Publick; but propoſ'd, as another Expedient, that thoſe Words ſhould be put within Crotchets. And thus *Icon Baſilike* ſtands now printed after the End of the ſecond Part of the King's Works of the Edition of 86, by Mr. Chiswel,

WEL, who told me this Story himſelf, not to gratifie or injure any ſide, but as a Matter of Fact, wherein he was perſonally concern'd; and from whence he draws no manner of Inference. The Royal Brothers ſaid the ſame to ſeveral others beſides my Lord ANGLESEY, and particularly to ſom eminent Perſons now living, who told me ſo much themſelves, with a Liberty of mentioning their Names, which, after all that has bin offer'd, I ſee no Neceſſity of doing.

THAT nothing may be wanting I ſhall in the laſt place conſider what is objected to the Prayer uſ'd by the King as his own in the time of his Captivity; but is, with very ſmall Variation, the ſame that is ſaid by PAMELA to a Heathen Deity in Sir PHILIP SYDNEY's *Arcadia*. This Diſcovery, as we ſaid before, was firſt made by MILTON in his *Iconoclaſtes*. But Dr. GILL affirms, 'That his Patient HENRY HILL the 'Printer ſaid it was put in by a 'Con-

'Contrivance of MILTON, who 'catching his Friend Mr. Du GARD 'printing an Edition of *Icon Baſili-* 'ke, got his Pardon by BRADSHAW's 'Intereſt, on Condition he would 'inſert PAMELA's Prayer to bring 'Diſcredit on the Book and the 'Author of it. I wonder at the Eaſineſs of Dr. GILL and Dr. BERNARD to believe ſo groſs a Fable, when it does not appear that Du GARD, who was Printer to the Parliament, ever printed this Book, and that the Prayer is in the ſecond Edition publiſh'd by Mr. ROYSTON, whoſe Evidence is alledg'd to prove the Genuinneſs of the Book. And if the King's Friends thought it not his own, what made them print it in the firſt Impreſſion of his Works in Folio, by ROYSTON in 62, when MILTON could not tamper with the Preſs? Or why did they let it paſs in the laſt Impreſſion in Folio by Mr. CHISWEL in the Year 86, when all the World knew that it was

long

long before expos'd in *Iconoclaſtes*? After this I need not go about to ſhew that Dr. GILL had no Reaſon for the great Opinion he entertain'd of HENRY HILL, and how little he conſulted his own Reputation by aſſerting that no Man was better vers'd in the ſecret Hiſtory of theſe times; that he was intruſted with Intrigues by the great ones of that Government, who, as all the World knows, manag'd their Affairs after another rate. Nor will I inſiſt upon his turning Papiſt in King JAMES's time to becom his Printer, as he was OLIVER's before, or any other Circumſtance to leſſen his Credit, ſince it appears that what he averr'd is inconſiſtent with Matter of Fact, Mr. ROYSTON, and not Du GARD, having publiſh'd the Celebrated Prayer which I add in this Place laid Parallel with the Original.

The

The *Prayer* of *King* CHARLES, ſtil'd *A Prayer in Time of Captivity*, Printed in pag. 74. of his Works, 1686; and alſo in *Icon Baſilike*.

O Powerful and Eternal God, to whom nothing is ſo great that it may reſiſt, or ſo ſmall that it is contemn'd, look upon my Miſery with thine Eye of Mercy, and let thine infinite Power vouchſafe to limit out ſom proportion of deliverance unto me, as to thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient. Let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over me, and let my Fault by thy Hand be corrected; and make not my unjuſt Enemies the Miniſters of thy Juſtice. But yet, my God, if in thy Wiſdom this be the apteſt Chaſtiſement for my unexcuſable Tranſgreſſions, if this

The PRAYER *of* PAMELA (to a Heathen Deity) *In* Pembroke's Arcadia, pag. 248, 1674.

O All-ſeeing Light, and Eternal Life of all things, to whom nothing is either ſo great that it may reſiſt, or ſo ſmall that it is contemn'd, look upon my Miſery with thine Ey of Mercy, and let thine infinite Power vouchſafe to limit out ſom Proportion of Deliverance unto me, as to thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient. Let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over me, and let my Faults by thy Hand be corrected, and make not mine unjuſt Enemy the Miniſter of thy Juſtice. But yet, my God, if in thy Wiſdom this be the apteſt Chaſtiſement for my unexcuſable Folly, if this low Bon-

this ungrateful Bondage be fitteſt for my over-high Deſires, if the Pride of my (not-enough humble) Heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto thy Will, and cheerfully embrace what Sorrow thou wilt have me ſuffer; only thus much let me crave of thee (let my Craving, O Lord be accepted of, ſince it even proceeds from thee) that by thy Goodneſs, which is thy ſelf, thou wilt ſuffer ſome Beam of thy Majeſty ſo to ſhine in my Mind, that I, who in my greateſt Afflictions acknowledg it my nobleſt Title to be thy Creature, may ſtill depend confidently on thee: Let Calamity be the Exerciſe, but not the Overthrow of my Virtue. O let not their prevailing Power be to my Deſtruction; and if it be thy Will that they more and more vex me with Puniſhment, yet, O Lord, never let their Wickedneſs have ſuch a Hand, but that I may ſtill carry a pure Mind and ſtedfaſt Reſolution ever

Bondage be fitteſt for my over-high Deſires, if the Pride of my not-enough humble Heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto thy Will, and joyfully embrace what Sorrow thou wilt have me ſuffer; only thus much let me crave of thee (let my Craving, O Lord, be accepted of thee, ſince even that proceeds from thee) let me crave even by the nobleſt Title which in my greateſt Affliction I may give my ſelf, that I am thy Creature, and by thy Goodneſs, which is thy ſelf, that thou wilt ſuffer ſom Beams of thy Majeſty to ſhine into my Mind, that it may ſtill depend confidently on thee. Let Calamity be the Exerciſe, but not the overthrow of my Virtue; Let their Power prevail, but prevail not to Deſtruction; Let my Greatneſs be their Prey: Let my Pain be the Sweetneſs of their Revenge; let them (if ſo it ſeem good unto thee) vex me with more and more Puniſhment;

ver to ſerve thee without Fear or Preſumtion, yet with that humConfidence which may beſt pleaſe thee; ſo that at the laſt I may com to thy Eternal Kingdom, through the Merits of thy Son, our alone Savior, JESUS CHRIST. *Amen.*

ment: But, O Lord, let never their Wickedneſs have ſuch a Hand, but that I may carry a pure Mind in a pure Body; *and pauſing a while*; and O moſt gracious Lord, *ſaid ſhe*, whatever becomes of me, preſerve the Virtuous MUSIDORUS.

CONCLUSION.

I HOPE by this time I have ſatisfy'd Mr. BLACKHALL, ſince I have not only laid together the firſt Teſtimonies concerning this Matter, but alſo anſwer'd the Exceptions that were made to thoſe Teſtimonies, and diſprov'd the freſh Evidence which was produc'd on the behalf of *Icon Baſilike*. But if he's offended at my Performance he may thank himſelf; ſeeing without his cauſeleſs Provocation I had never written a Word more on this Subject, as I ſhall not do hereafter, unleſs for as juſtifiable a Reaſon: For notwithſtanding I may not anſwer every Scribler, yet I'll be miſrepreſented and abus'd by no body worth my notice.

INDEED Mr. BLACKHALL is not the firſt who has occaſion'd Controverſies by a Thirtieth of *January* Sermon. Every body knows how much

much the Obſervation of that Day was abus'd in the two laſt Reigns by ſervil Flatterers, who, not content to run ſhameful Parallels between the Sufferings of our Savior and the King (wherein the latter was often made to exceed) they taught the People the ridiculous Doctrin of *Paſſive Obedience*, as they allow'd the Prince an Unlimited and Deſpotic Power. This render'd thoſe Perſons juſtly odious to the Nation, and made ſober Men frequently wiſh that ſuch an Opportunity of doing Miſchief might be taken away from thoſe who fail'd not to improve it to the utmoſt. It was likewiſe obſerv'd how much theſe Sermons contributed to raiſe Animoſities and Feuds in the Kingdom, and to continue the fatal Diſtinctions of Names and Parties, which every good Man ſhould deſire might be aboliſh'd, or bury'd in eternal Oblivion. Beſides

that for many weighty Reaſons ſuch Days ought not to be perpetuated, or otherwiſe in a little time ours will be as full as the *Roman Calendar:* wherfore I readily approve of the learned Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s Opinion, That our Deliverances ſhould wear out the Memory of ſuch tragical Accidents, which no body pretends to juſtify; and indeed I think it very reaſonable (if our Legiſlators be of the ſame Opinion) that the Commemoration of his preſent Majeſty's Landing to deliver us from Slavery on the Fifth of *November*, ſhould hereafter take place of the Thirtieth of *January*. Other Holydays have bin recommended to a conſtant Obſervation, tho' they are ſince grown into diſuſe, or are legally aboliſh'd, which the beſt Friends of the Clergy deſire may be the Fate of that Day out of their reſpect to the Church: For theſe Sermons do conſtantly put the People in mind

mind of that Set of Men who preach'd 'em out of their Liberties in former times; and the honeſt Clergy themſelves are ſtill under an unhappy Neceſſity of ſaying many things, that (let 'em think what they will) are not extremely pleaſing to the Body of the Nation. The Deſcendants of thoſe concern'd in that Act, and many of 'em far from approving it, conceive themſelves unkindly us'd in moſt of thoſe Diſcourſes; nor are the Poſterity of the greateſt Royaliſts in a better Condition, if that be a National Guilt that's never to be expiated, tho' neither they nor their Anceſtors conſented to it; to ſay nothing of the frequent Intermarriages and other Tyes between both the Parties.

IF the Extravagancies of thoſe Sermons had terminated with the late Reign, few People, perhaps, would trouble themſelves now about what's paſt, unleſs conſtrain'd to it by ſom officious Chaplain: But they

they cannot endure to hear the Members of the Parliament of 40 ſo infamouſly branded, conſidering how lately they were oblig'd themſelves to aſſert their Laws and Liberties againſt the Martyrs Son, who violated and broke them at his Pleaſure: And in this Senſe many were of Opinion that King Charles's Blood lay heavy on the Nation, which made them for the eaſe of the ſame to ſhake off the Burden of King James.

SOM, who otherwiſe Honor the Memory of King Charles the Firſt, are angry to hear him, in Mr. Blackhall's Language, call'd *the beſt of Kings, and the beſt of Men*; when they conſider eſpecially, that the Apoſtles were Men, and that ſeveral Perſons among the *Greek* and *Roman Heathens*, did infinitly excel him in all Moral and Heroic Virtues. As for Princes, if good Manners could not make Mr. Blackhall except the preſent King, Juſtice

ſtice at leaſt might well oblige him to do it. King WILLIAM has never diſpens'd with expreſs Laws in favor of Popiſh Recuſants. He never protected any of his Chaplains againſt the Parliament for preaching up Arbitrary Power. He never requir'd Soldiers to be try'd by Martial Law in time of Peace; nor levy'd Loans or Ship mony contrary to Law, much leſs impriſon'd, fin'd or baniſh'd ſuch as refus'd to pay thoſe illegal Taxes. He does not countenance any SIBTHORPS, MAXWARINGS, or MOUNTAGUES to teach his Subjects Non-Reſiſtance, or to compliment himſelf with Arbitrary Power. He is ſo far from ſending for Foren Troops to enſlave the Nation, that he readily ſent thoſe away which he kept here by Law, as ſoon as he underſtood the Kingdom had no further need of their Service. He does not uſe to impriſon Members of the Houſe of Commons for uſing that

that Freedom of Debate which is Eſſential to their Conſtitution. He never threaten'd to betake himſelf to other Councils than his Parliament (as CHARLES the Firſt did) ſaying that *Parliaments were in his Power*, and that *he might grow out of Love with them.* Nor is it known that he went into the Houſe of Commons to demand any of their Members; no more than he has ſeiz'd the Cuſtoms without any Act to impower him. He never promis'd (as King CHARLES did in a Letter to his Queen) that he would take away all the Penal Laws againſt *Roman* Catholicks as ſoon as he ſhould be able, nor any thing elſe of this nature: For theſe are only a few Inſtances, not to blacken that Prince, but to ſhew how little ſom ſort of People ſeem to value his preſent Majeſty for generouſly reſtoring the Conſtitution, and for ſo willingly paſſing

many

many excellent Laws for enlarging or ſecuring the Liberty of his Subjects; as well as for always paying ſuch a Deference to Parliaments, which he not only aſſembles willingly, but likewiſe, according to ancient Cuſtom, annually. In ſhort, if King CHARLES the Firſt was the beſt of Kings, the late King JAMES is not half ſo bad as I think him: Nor is there any Doubt, if a ſecond Reſtoration (which God and all Freemen forbid) ſhould ever happen, but that the Abdication-Day would be appointed as a perpetual Faſt. What Mr. BLACKHALL thinks of diſpenſing with the Laws and acting without, or contrary to them, we may gueſs, when he ſays, *That King* CHARLES's *greateſt Enemies could not charge him with any Vice or Immorality*; as if only Whoring, Drinking, or Swearing were immoral Practices.

SINCE this King (who truly

was not the worſt) muſt needs be counted the beſt of Men, I do not much wonder that Mr. Long of *Exeter* was for having ſom Portions of his pretended Book read in the Church for the further enlightning of our Underſtanding: Nor that Dr. Perinchief ſhould tell us in his Life how ſom purchas'd Chips of the Block on which he was beheaded, and Parcels of the Sands diſcolor'd with his Blood, as alſo ſom of his Hair, *Hoping*, continues he, *they would be a means of Cure for that Diſeaſe, which our* Engliſh *Kings, through the Indulgence of kind Heaven, by their Touch did uſually heal: And it was reported that theſe Reliques, experienc'd, fail'd not of the Effect.* Now who can laugh at the Popiſh Legends, and be ſerious when he reads this Paſſage? Wheras, if there was ever any Power in *England* of curing the King's Evil, it was plainly lodg'd in the People. BE-

BEFORE I conclude, I muſt remark, that tho his pretended Friends were ſo ready to father ſuch Books on CHARLES the Firſt wherein he had no Hand, yet they induſtriouſly left out of his Works a Letter to Pope GREGORY XV, whereof I can prove him as evidently to be the Author as CICERO or VIRGIL may be entitul'd to the *Philippicks* and the *Æneids*. There is an interpolated Copy of it in the firſt Volum of RUSHWORTH's Collections: It is rightly inſerted in the *Quarto* Edition of a Book call'd *Cabala*, or Myſteries of State: It is alſo in the *Italian Mercury* of VITTORIO SIRI: in DU CHESNE's *French* Hiſtory of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*: and in ſeveral *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Authors. Pope URBAN VIII mentions it in the Letter which he likewiſe ſent this Prince, with another to his Father King JAMES; both which may be read in RUSHWORTH's Collections.

Now

Now was not the omitting of this Letter a notorious Fraud, ſince that it alone, with thoſe Letters which the Parliament publiſh'd to diſgrace him, and a few Pieces beſides, make up all his genuin Writings; For as to thoſe Meſſages, Propoſitions, Declarations, Treaties, and other public Papers, which fill that bulky Folio they call his Works, whoever takes them to be his, is likewiſe capable of believing he was the true Author of *Icon Baſilike*.

THIS is all I had to write concerning this famous Book, not to reflect on the Memory of CHARLES the Firſt, but in my own Vindication; being a Liberty not deny'd me by Equity or Law, and which, if I neglected to improve, I ſhould be more unjuſt to my ſelf than my Adverſaries, whoſe Malice I ſhall readily forget, and heartily pray God to forgive.

FINIS.

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